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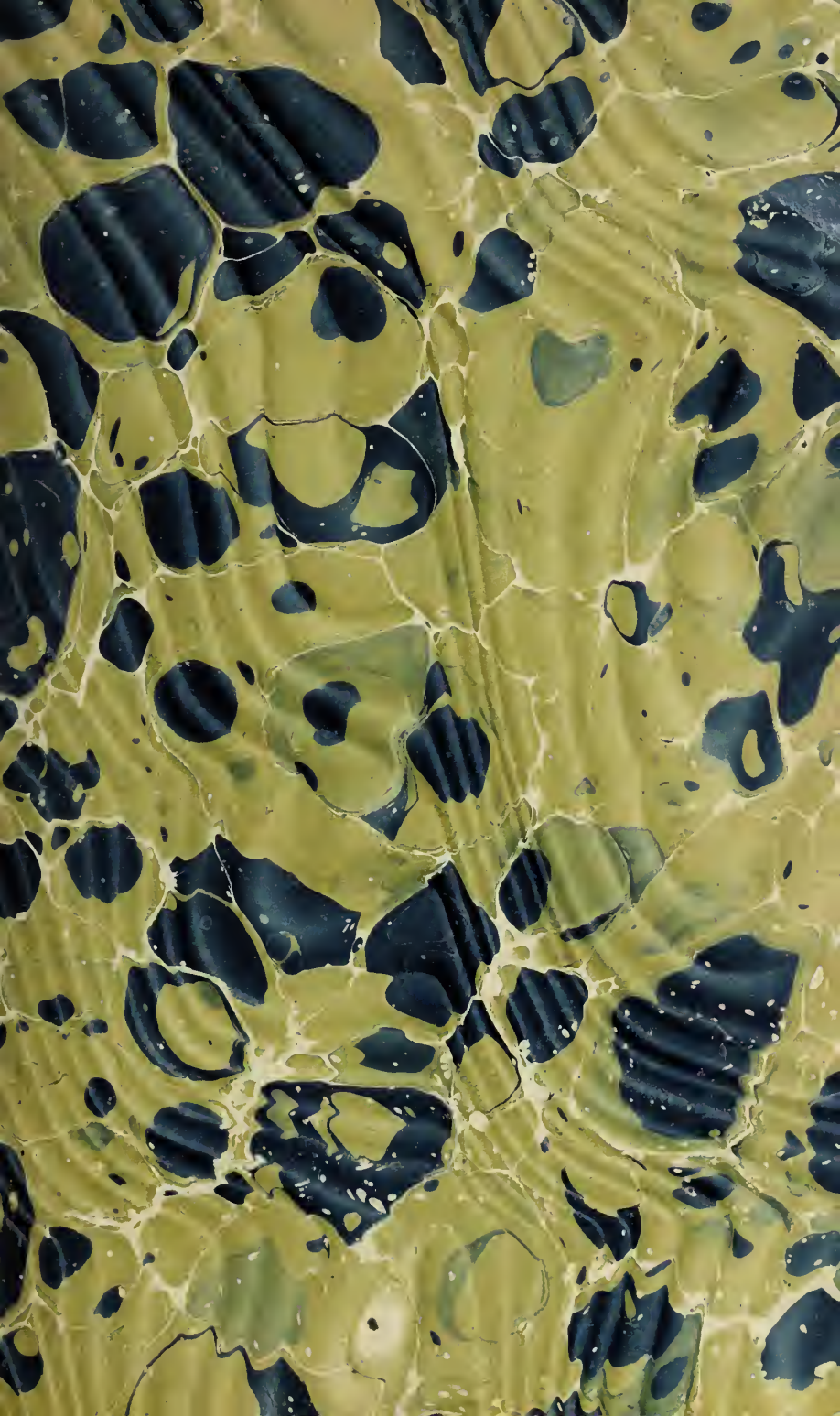

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MEMOIRS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

COUNTY AND CITY OF LINCOLN.

MEMOIRS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

COUNTY AND CITY OF LINCOLN,

COMMUNICATED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

HELD AT LINCOLN, JULY, 1848,

WITH A GENERAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING, AND A CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM FORMED ON THAT OCCASION.

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PREFACE.

In presenting to the Members of the Institute the Transactions of the Meeting held at Lincoln, the Central Committee desire to express their regret, that the production of the Annual Volumes has unavoidably been impeded by causes which they have in vain sought to control. The contribution to Historical and Antiquarian knowledge, now at length completed, is not a mere Report, or Abstract of Proceedings; it comprises the results of long and careful enquiry; the fruits, in several cases, of many years of assiduous investigation. A due regard to the convenience of the numerous authors to whom the Society has been indebted on the present occasion, called for no ordinary indulgence, in facilities for the revision of their respective productions; whilst the preparation of so many illustrations has demanded greater time and care, than will readily be appreciated by persons not fully conversant with the difficulties attendant on such publications.

The satisfaction with which the achievement of this undertaking must be regarded, would have been greatly enhanced, had it proved practicable to include a subject of paramount importance,—the Architectural History of the Minster. The Committee would assure the Society that no endeavours on their part have been wanting to secure some adequate memorial of the Discourse, which formed so striking

a feature of the Proceedings. The Society will entertain a cordial esteem of the kindness of Professor Willis, in forestalling annually for their satisfaction a portion of the great subject, to which his attention has been so long addressed; and at the same time regret deeply, that his pressing avocations render it impracticable to continue the series commenced with such agreeable and instructive effect in former volumes produced by the Institute. Since the desired opportunity has been denied them of giving, in the present volume, that pre-eminence to the Illustration of the Minster, which it justly claims, the Committee have sought to make some amends, by availing themselves to the utmost of other subjects of prominent local interest. In this endeavour the friendly assistance of an antiquary, whose name has long been in high and honourable repute in connexion with all that concerns the Investigation of the Antiquities of his native city,—Mr. Willson, has proved of the utmost value, and claims the most grateful acknowledgment.

The Committee have again the gratification of recording the liberality which has aided the present undertaking. They would express their thanks to many whose assistance has proved of signal advantage; and especially to the Marquis of Northampton; Richard Ellison, Esq.; the Rev. the President of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding; to the Rev. J. L. Petit, the Right Hon. C. d'Eyncourt, M.P., and other gentlemen, who have enriched the volume by contributing illustrations.

The Committee beg to state distinctly that they must not be accounted answerable for any opinions or statements which may occur in the Publications of the Institute; the authors being alone responsible.

26, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East,
July 1, 1850.

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The whole of these admirable illustrations, executed from drawings prepared by the special direction of the Rev. J. Louis Petit, have been very generously presented by him as a contribution to this Volume.

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D. M.
CLAVDIAE
CRISIDI
VIXIT.
AN. LXXXX
HEREDES.
P.C.

Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1848.

HELD AT LINCOLN, COMMENCING TUESDAY, JULY 25, AND TERMINATING MONDAY, JULY 31.

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CITY OF LINCOLN.

SCALE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING.

IN pursuance of a Resolution passed at the General Meeting, held at Norwich, in 1847, the Annual Meeting was held, this year, in the ancient city of Lincoln, commencing on Tuesday, the 25th July. A very large number of visitors and members congregated at the County Assembly Rooms, at noon; and the proceedings commenced by an address from the Bishop of Norwich.

The learned prelate said, he addressed the meeting with mingled feelings of regret and satisfaction; sincere regret, that during the year that he had held the office of President of the Institute he had been able to do so little for its interests, not because of the want of earnest good-will, but because of the onerous duties which devolved on him as the Bishop of an extensive diocese. He had now the satisfaction to deliver that office into other and abler hands; in Lord Brownlow he saw a President who had more leisure, and it was a satisfaction to feel that no one could have greater zeal, energy, and anxiety to discharge the duties devolving upon him. Before he resigned his functions, he was anxious to say a few words, however feeble they might be, with respect to the advantages to be derived from the cultivation of the sciences and arts. They might be looked on as conferring an additional sense; how far higher than the simple peasant was the astronomer led!—one looked at the stars as mere spangles, the other gazed on them with high and increasing veneration for the Great Being who filled the firmament with light; the geologist,—how different from him who was ignorant of science! As to the cultivation of Archæology, there were some who ascribed to its promoters a desire to return to old forms and antiquated ceremonies; he looked at the science in a more enlarged view, and deemed it suited to aid in the rescue of ecclesiastical architecture from the degraded puritan standard which had been too prevalent. In archæology, whichever way they turned, they must derive benefit, knowledge, and satisfaction; let them look at many a modern church, comparing it with the edifices upon which the excellencies of ancient art were lavished, and how would their feelings be ennobled by the impressive contrast?

His Lordship then appropriately alluded to the expressive sentiment of the poet, that the truly enlightened mind will find sermons even in stones; and passed an eloquent eulogy on the great and master spirits of past ages, and that earnest piety, which were combined to raise such magnificent edifices as Lincoln Cathedral. Archæologists were not retracing their steps to carry back humanity to the darker periods of history,—they sought to

glean from them all that was good, and go forward with a swifter and firmer foot. To those who thought the science tended to encourage ancient superstitions, he would say, the design of archæology is to cultivate good taste and love of the arts, so that its researches might not ouly prove an example to stimulate men of the present age, but serve as a beacon for the guidance of the future. When he looked on the noble Minster, how could he fiud sufficient admiration for those by whom that wonderful pile was erected? They might live under error in faith, but it was a faith worthy of admiration, when, with hand, and heart and will, they had raised an edifice which it would be difficult, if practicable, to rear in modern times. His Lordship added, that he had conversed with one of the most talented men of America, aud had asked him what were his feelings on first eutering an English Cathedral? He replied, "I did not allow a word to escape my lips, for I should have thought a human voice heard in such a place was improper,—it seemed full of the presence of the Almighty."

His Lordship concluded with his congratulations to the Institute that so numerous a body had assembled to welcome them in old Lindum; and that this, the fullest meeting he had, as yet, had the pleasure to attend, would be held under the auspices of a nobleman whose classic taste and patrouage of the arts, modern as well as mediæval, was so well known, and in whose favour he vacated the President's seat.

The Earl Brownlow, in taking the chair, claimed the indulgence of the meeting for the inadequate manner iu which he was able to express his feelings at the high encomiums bestowed on him by the Bishop of Norwich. He felt incompetent sufficiently to do justice to those kind observations; he would, however, do the utmost in his power, and all that his indifferent state of health would permit, to promote the objects of the meeting. It was more than fifty years since he began to cultivate a taste for autiquarian pursuits, and he felt his zeal therein unabated. Lincoln was full of vestiges, British, Roman, Saxon aud Normau, and rich in specimens of every grade of pointed architecture; not only would the Ecclesiastical Buildings of the city excite attention, but within its limits were a larger series than most localities possessed of the domestic buildings of past ages. For the noble Minster, however, he must claim pre-emiuence; if it had a rival in this country, it had, at most, but oue. He felt that it was a sort of grand religious Epic, and that its compoueut parts were so many Cantos in the Poem. During the present century, especially in the early part of it, irreparable injuries had been committed in our Cathedrals and Churches: he thought the proceedings of societies like that over which he was now called upon to preside, would prove the means of reviviug good taste; that purity of style would follow, and that no more of those solecisms would be witnessed which had too long prevailed. His Lordship then eloquently expressed a most cordial welcome to the numerous strangers arouud him, from all parts of the kingdom; he was proud to see that so many had honoured Liucoln with their attendance, and trusted they would derive great pleasure in exploring the antiquities of the city aud neighbourhood.

The Marquis of Northampton then proposed a vote of thanks to the Bishop of Norwich, for the zeal and ability with which his Lordship had

discharged the duties of the Presidential Chair. He said that he also joined in the mingled feeling, before expressed on the occasion,—pleasure because the sceptre laid down had been placed in the excellent hands of Earl Brownlow, and regret, that, in its annual course, the fostering care of the learned Prelate had come to its termination. His Lordship then proceeded to defend the Institute from the unfounded accusation that its operations tended to encourage superstition. In beautifying and adorning Churches of Protestants, they were not departing from Protestantism; but, could they do less than expend some portion of their wealth in beautifying the Temples dedicated to the Almighty? His Lordship proceeded to illustrate how, from impressions of beauty, the mind was raised above the level of cold utilitarianism, and finally exalted in admiration of the Supreme Architect of the universe.

The Bishop of Lincoln said he desired cordially to second the proposal of the noble Marquis. He had had the happiness of knowing his Right Reverend Brother for fifty years, and he knew that his excellent qualities had gained him universal love and esteem. The success with which he had prosecuted scientific studies was known to all; and, indeed, in the address they had recently heard his Lordship had given evidence of his extensive attainments. He was no less distinguished for the liberality with which he endeavoured to promote the advance of knowledge in every path of literature. His Lordship then observed that he himself had not much acquaintance with the science of archæology, but that he was fully alive to the striking works of past ages, and that the study was an important chapter in the history of the human race. His Lordship concluded with suitable congratulations to the accomplished nobleman who now filled the chair of the Institute.

The Bishop of Norwich returned thanks; The Lord Monson then proposed—that the best wishes of the Citizens of Lincoln be given to the Institute for the honour they had done the city in selecting it for the scene of their annual visit. This proposition was seconded by the Mayor, William Marshall, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., moved a resolution, expressive of the respect which modern archæologists must entertain towards the "Gentlemen's Society of Spalding," the oldest antiquarian institution in the kingdom; he briefly noticed the changes that had occurred in Lincolnshire since its first establishment, and the care that Society had taken to chronicle events and preserve historical antiquities. This proposal, seconded by Sir John Boileau, Bart., was also carried unanimously.

Mr. Alderman Edward J. Willson then read to the meeting the important historical memoir on the Ancient Palace of the Bishops of Lincoln (published in this volume). His Grace the Duke of St. Alban's briefly complimented Mr. Willson on the careful research and historical knowledge displayed in his highly interesting address. This vote was seconded by the Rev. Professor Willis, and the morning Meeting terminated.

The Temporary Museum formed for the meeting of the Institute was then thrown open, and excited the highest admiration and interest. At half-past three, Mr. Willson accompanied a numerous party of ladies and

gentlemen to the ruins of the Palace, and there elucidated, by the remains themselves, the remarks in his memoir read in the morning. Other parties visited the Castle, the Mint Wall, the Roman Gateway, Mounds and Fosses of ancient Lindum. The members of the architectural section, more especially, examined the curious buildings,—"The Jew's House," the Hall of St. Mary's Guild, the structure commonly known as John of Gauut's Palace, the Mouastery of the Grey Friars, of which part is now the Grammar School, and the "Monk's House," being the remaius of a cell formerly belonging to St. Mary's Abbey at York.

In the evening a Banquet was served in the spacious new Hall of the Corn Exchange. More than three hundred of the nobility and gentry, including not less than fifty ladies, assembled. The Earl Brownlow presided, supported by the Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, the Duke of St. Alban's, the Marquis of Northampton, Earl Yarborough, Lord Monson, Lord Braybrooke, Lord Alford, Lord Alwyne Compton; the Deans of Westminster, Hereford, Ely and Lincoln; Lady Brownlow, Lady Marianne Alford, Lady Amelia Cust, Lady Monson, Lady Buxton, Lady Anderson; the Hon. and Rev. R. Cust, Sir John Boileau, Sir C. J. H. Anderson, Hou. W. J. Monson, Sir Henry Watson, the Rev. the Precentor, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln, the High Sheriff of the County, Mr. Sibthorpe, Mrs. Trollope, Miss Kaye, Miss Anderson, Mr. Hallam, Professors Willis and Cockerell, &c., &c., &c.

On Wednesday morniug the subterraneous passage near the ruins of St. Giles' was inspected. In the ancient map by Stukeley, a facsimile of which had been prepared for the gratification of the members, and is given in this volume, it is called a "supposed Roman Catacomb;" it has also been conjectured to have been a quarry from which stone for building the Cathedral was procured.

At the meetings of sections at the Assembly Rooms, Mr. Winston's paper on Stained Glass (see page 90) was read; Professor Cockerell delivered his memoir on the Sculptures in the "Choir of Angels," in the Cathedral, (see page 215); Mr. C. Penrose read a discourse on the mathematical proportions shown in the design of that edifice (see page 125). Mr. Nicholson also gave a highly interesting memoir on Tattershall Castle. Professor Willis then delivered his lecture on the Architectural History of Lincolu Cathedral, rendered peculiarly attractive by his popular mode of illustration; in the afternoon the Professor, accompanied by a large audience, visited the Cathedral, and there pointed out the indications of dates and styles, with the several points of prominent interest or peculiarity on which he had dwelt more particularly in his lecture in the moruing. Archdeacon Bonney then read a notice of the curious Burghersh monuments in the Presbytery, and the heraldic adornments, indicating the personages to whose memory they were erected (see page 241). At the numerously attended Evening assembly of the Mediæval Section, Lord Monson presided, and Mr. Kemble delivered an address, of great interest, on Runic characters, illustrated by alphabets, copies of inscriptions from pillars, crosses, monumental stoues, swords, and other relics. Mr. Trollope exhibited a curious comb, fouud in an excavation made in St. Mary's Parish; Runic characters

were inscribed on it, which Mr. Kemble decyphered, and he stated that its reading was, "Thorfutt makes a good comb," a fresh indication of the frequent commercial intercourse of the Northmen with Lincoln, of which so many curious vestiges have enriched Mr. Trollope's Museum.

Thursday was chiefly devoted to an Excursion to visit the venerable Church of Stow. After examining that ancient fabric, with its vestiges of Saxon work, a numerous party found a hearty welcome at Sir Charles Anderson's hospitable mansion, at Lea Hall. From thence they proceeded to Gainsborough, and visited the interesting remains of the "Old Hall;" portions of this venerable pile are considered to be as old as the reign of Stephen, but the principal building is stated to have been commenced by Richard de Gaynesburgh, at the latter end of the 14th century. He was then a mason of great repute, employed on the works of Lincoln Cathedral; the west wing was added by Sir Thomas Burgh, temp. Hen.VII., and the east wing by the Hickman family, in 1600, as shown by a dial with that date, the initials W. H., and the legend, "Deus mi ut umbra sic vita." Since the year 1760 this fine old pile has been converted to all kinds of unworthy purposes, and it is now in a most neglected state. From Gainsborough the excursionists returned by way of Torksey, a site rendered memorable as the place where Blecca, the Saxon Governor of Lincoln, was converted to Christianity and baptised. "Torchesey" had 102 "mansiones" at the time of the Domesday survey. Some ruins of the Castle still remain, and there is a ferry over the Trent at the spot.

At the Historical Section, in the morning, the account of the "Gentlemen's Society of Spalding," by Dr. Moore, was read, (see page 82). In the evening, at eight, Sir Charles Anderson presided in the Architectural Section, when the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne read a Memoir on Lincoln Castle. Mr. E. Sharpe gave a lecture on the different forms and arrangements of tracery in windows, of the pointed styles of architecture, and suggested hints for a more perfect nomenclature than that in general use; this lecture was illustrated by a large number of beautiful designs. Mr. Petit read his account of the Minster at Southwell (see page 197); illustrated, also, by a number of very admirable drawings.

On Friday morning more than 200 persons set off, by special train, to visit Newark, Southwell Minster, and Wollaton Hall, near Nottingham. At that magnificent mansion, the noble owner, Lord Willoughby, had made the most hospitable preparations for the entertainment of his numerous guests, and had arranged, with great kindness, every facility for their gratification. A special train brought the party back to Lincoln, in time to attend the Soirée given, in the most liberal manner, by the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln, to the Members of the Institute and Visitors attending the meeting. The whole suite of the Assembly Rooms was brilliantly illuminated, the Temporary Museum was thrown open, and a band of music enlivened the scene. Upwards of 400 persons were present at this most agreeable entertainment.

On Saturday morning the lovers of excursions were again on the alert, and a large number started on the unopened line of Railway towards Boston, by a special train, which had been liberally supplied by

the Directors of the Great Northern Railway, who conveyed the party to and from Tattershall, and also very hospitably entertained them at luncheon. By means of this seasonable facility a large party were enabled to visit the remarkable Castle of Tattershall, an edifice of brick-work, 150 feet high, of Perpendicular Style, on an oblong plan, with octagonal turrets at the corners; it was erected about 1440; the summit is boldly machicolated. Gough has given an account of this building; (Sep. Mon., vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 101). The Church of the Holy Trinity, a cruciform edifice of late Perpendicular date, was inspected; as were also the fine ruins of Kirkstead Abbey, founded in 1139.

In Lincoln, during the morning, Sir Charles Anderson presided at a meeting of the Architectural Section, when the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne read a paper on the Palace and Parliaments at Clipstone (see page 45), after which Mr. C. Tucker read an elaborate account of the fine Church of Heckington, communicated by Mr. Lewin of Boston, accompanied by a series of admirable drawings illustrative of its beauties and peculiarities. It is a fine example of Decorated work, of the early part of the 14th century, with a tower and spire at the west end, a south porch, nave, with north and south aisles, north and south transepts, and a chancel. In this church the "Easter Sepulchre" remains entire, in its original position, and has been justly celebrated for the beauty of its design and excellence of workmanship. The Founder's Tomb remains in the north wall of the chancel; and in some of the windows still exists the appropriate motto — "The Lord love De Gaunt," in commemoration of members of that family who were large contributors to the building. The Marquis of Northampton remarked that the noble east window appeared to present an exact resemblance to that of the Abbey Church at Selby, Yorkshire, and inquired of Mr. Sharpe whether the mouldings, as well as the design, were similar? Mr. Sharpe stated, that in the general arrangement, as well as some of the mouldings, there was perfect identity, but there were differences in detail.

Sir Charles Anderson having quitted the chair, it was taken by the Marquis of Northampton, who presided over the Historical Section in the absence of Mr. Hallam. Mr. Kemble read a highly interesting paper on the "Rights of Royalty in England previous to the Norman Conquest," which excited very great interest in his audience, and which we hope will be given to the public hereafter by the learned author. Mr. C. Tucker then read a memoir, communicated by the Rev. C. Blois Turner, of Halesworth, Suffolk, describing an interview between Sir Edward Lake and King Charles I., after the Battle of Edge Hill, (see page 190); Dr. Lake, afterwards Sir Edward, is interred in Lincoln Cathedral; the memoir was accompanied by a copy of the docket, by which the King granted the dignity of a Baronet, and also the power to make a Baronet, and an augmentation to the coat-armour of Sir Edward, in recognition of his services. Mr. Hunter inquired whether this were the same Edward Lake who had left some curious Biographical Memoranda, containing information as to the Court of Charles I.; with respect to the power granted to Sir Edward Lake to create a Baronet, that was not an uncommon expedient, and was resorted to both by Charles I. and II., to reward persons who had

rendered services to the Crown ; he thought the power had on some occasions been questioned by Parliament. Mr. J. Gough Nichols believed the writer alluded to was not the same person as Sir Edward Lake referred to in the memoir.

Mr. Tucker afterwards read a paper, communicated by Mr. Boole, of Lincoln, on the Philosophical Remains of Bishop Grossetête (see page 139).

In the evening, at eight, the Marquis of Northampton presided at a Meeting of the Early and Mediæval Section ; the Rev. F. C. Massingberd read a curious account of the peculiar locality in Lincoln known as the "Grecian Stairs," (see page 58). A very crowded audience had assembled when John Britton, Esq., whom the Noble Marquis introduced as the "Patriarch of British Archæology," addressed the meeting.

Mr. Britton expressed the high gratification which he felt in responding to the invitation of the Noble Marquis, and bearing his testimony to the importance and interest of Archæological inquiries. He adverted to his last visit to the ancient city of Lincoln, nearly half a century since, when the name even of archæology was unknown ; and he compared the state of public interest in the subject, at the period when he first engaged in the illustration of national antiquities, with that of the present age. He regarded with most lively satisfaction the numerous concourse around him, comprising so many accomplished and zealous votaries of the science, to which, long almost a solitary labourer in the field, he had devoted the energies of so many years. Mr. Britton cordially commended the beneficial influence exercised by societies like the Institute, in diffusing taste and sound information; he alluded to the satisfaction which he had derived from the profound knowledge and skill so eloquently displayed by Professor Willis, in illustrating the Architectural Histories of various cathedrals, and he desired to record his lively sense of the value of labours, which few, perhaps, could more fully appreciate than himself.

After this the Marquis delivered an admirable Address to the Members of the Mechanics' Institute of Lincoln, who were present, by special invitation, in order that they might inspect the Museum. He was followed by Sir Charles Anderson, who spoke, shortly, on the liberality of the members of the Institute in inviting them, and of the kindness with which the curators had consented to explain all matters of archæological interest which might excite their attention. The numerous visitors then proceeded to the Museum, and were engaged until a late hour in examining the invaluable collection of objects, there brought together, illustrative of the manners and customs, habits of life, and curious vestiges of the inhabitants of Lincoln and the surrounding country, in early and mediæval times, as well as the extensive collection derived from distant places and from public establishments, especially the fine series of arms and armour from the Tower of London, supplied by the liberal permission of the Honorable the Board of Ordnance.

On Monday, the 31st July, the Marquis of Northampton took the chair of the Early and Mediæval Section, at ten, when the attendance was scarcely less numerous than on any former day ; a paper on the Mint of Lincoln, and subjects connected therewith, from time to time discovered

in the city, was read by Mr. Hawkins, (see page 49), and a discussion took place between Mr. J. M. Kemble and Mr. Hawkins as to the proofs which could be brought forward of an Anglo-Saxon Mint at Lincoln. Mr. Talbot read a memoir on the peculiarity of style exhibited in the architecture of the Chapel of Chesterblade, in Somersetshire; and the Dean of Hereford made some observations on a richly ornamented Cross recently found at West Farleigh, Kent, and a Processional Cross, found concealed in the tower of Hereford Cathedral; drawings of both were exhibited by the Dean. In the Historical Section Lord Monson delivered his highly interesting account of the feuds of the chief Lincolnshire families in early times, (see this admirable memoir, page 65). This was succeeded by a paper on the Earls of Lincoln, read by Mr. John Gough Nichols, illustrated by numerous representations of early Seals, which he exhibited, (see page 253).

Mr. E. J. Willson then gave a curious detailed account of the sickness and death of Queen Eleanor, who died at Hardby, in Lincolnshire, having been removed thither from Clipstone, in Sherwood Forest, where the King had convened a Parliament, 1290. Hardby is seven miles from Lincoln. The Queen died on the 28th November; the corpse was embalmed, and the bowels buried in the Lady Chapel, at the east end of Lincoln Cathedral; the tomb was remaining in Dugdale's time, with a recumbent effigy, which is stated to have been of gilt metal, resembling that still preserved in Westminster Abbey, whither the Royal body was conveyed for interment. Mr. Willson added an interesting account of the progress of the cortége, and of the several monumental crosses erected at the stations at which the procession halted. Mr. Hunter, in the course of a conversation relative to some observations offered by Mr. Willson, observed, that at an auction lately held in London, a record of the Household Expenses of Queen Eleanor had been offered for sale, and was purchased by a private individual, having, by a few pounds, exceeded the offer of the representative of the National Collection at the British Museum. He remarked that it was exceedingly to be regretted that MSS. of such interest for the elucidation of national history should pass into private collections; and, indeed, it was a matter of surprise that such documents should have been found at a public sale; he stated, in reply to a question from Lord Northampton, that both the seller and the buyer preserved a mysterious incognito.

Thanks were then, severally, proposed to The Lord Monson, Mr. Hawkins, the Dean of Hereford, Mr. J. Gough Nichols, and Mr. E. J. Willson, for these valuable communications. The Section closed; and the Marquis of Northampton retired, his place being forthwith occupied by the Earl Brownlow, who then took the chair to preside at the concluding General Meeting.

The Noble President expressed his regret that the conclusion of the business of the meeting had arrived; all the papers received, with one exception, had been read, and he regretted there had not been time for that communication. Dr. Thurnam had prepared it with considerable care, and had brought the curious remains, with which he had intended to illustrate it, from York, at considerable risk and expense. He believed, however, that the

members would not lose this memoir, as it would be read by Dr. Thurnam at one of the monthly meetings, in London, during the ensuing Session of the Institute.[1] His Lordship added, that he felt assured the proceedings of the meeting had afforded the greatest gratification and pleasure to all who had taken a part in them, and he thought it might be fairly anticipated that the volume of Lincoln Transactions would be superior even to those preceding it. He then called on the Hon. Secretary to read the Report.

Mr. C. Tucker regretted, that, in consequence of the serious illness of Mr. Hudson Turner, and the unexpected absence of Mr. Cunningham, the Report had not been completed with the care and detail, customary on former occasions. He mentioned the progress that the Institute had made during the past year; successful as had been the meeting at Norwich, he believed, that all who had been present at both, would admit that the Lincoln meeting had been more numerously attended, the papers of much higher interest, and the Museum the best that had, as yet, been formed. The gratifying assurance had been thus afforded that the science of Archæology was gradually, but firmly, gaining ground in public estimation; and as a proof, he added, that the Committee had received pressing invitations from the cities of Salisbury, Oxford, Hereford, Chichester, Peterborough, and from other places, that the future meetings might be held within their walls. The Committee desired to recommend Salisbury as the place of meeting for 1849. Mr. Tucker then added a Report of the Finances of the Institute, showing, that, in the past year, the Receipts had been 856*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*, and the Disbursements 746*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, including a sum of 80*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, which it was probable might be lost, through the failure of the Bankers, Messrs. Cockburn. The President moved the adoption of the Report, which was agreed to, unanimously.

It was then announced that the following Gentlemen had been selected by the Central Committee, to go out of office according to the customary practice:—

Vice-President.—Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.

Members of the Central Committee.

Edward Blore, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester.
William Bromet, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.
Andrew Lawson, Esq.
Charles Newton, Esq., M.A.
Henry Reeve, Esq., of Her Majesty's Privy Council Office.

And that the following Gentlemen had been nominated to fill up the vacancies:—

Vice-President.—Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., F.R.S.

Members of the Central Committee.

Charles R. Cockerell, Esq., Professor of Architecture, Royal Academy.
M. Rohde Hawkins, Esq.
John Mitchell Kemble, Esq., M.A., Secretary to the English Historical Society.
The Rev. Henry Mackenzie, M.A., Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields.
Charles Winston, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
Digby Wyatt, Esq.

[1] This Paper has since been published in vol. vi. of the Archaeological Journal.

The following Gentlemen were also proposed as Auditors for the year 1848 :—

Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq., F.S.A.
Weston Styleman Walford, Esq., Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

The list having been submitted to the Meeting, was adopted unanimously.

It was then proposed that the Annual Meeting for the ensuing year should be held in the City of Salisbury; and this motion having been carried unanimously, it was intimated that the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert had kindly signified his assent to preside over the Meeting of the Institute in Wiltshire.

In reply to a question, Mr. Tucker stated, that possibly the Institute would visit Oxford in 1850; the decision would rest with the meeting to be held at Salisbury, in 1849. The Dean of Hereford hoped that the interesting Cathedral, over which he had the honour to preside, would not be forgotten, and observed that there were a great many objects worthy of examination in Hereford and its vicinity. The Marquis of Northampton put in a claim for the Cathedral of Peterborough, and suggested that Durham was a place to which early attention should be directed.

The Noble Marquis then moved, prefaced by a few very apposite observations, "That the warmest thanks of this Assembly be given to Earl Brownlow, President of the Meeting, for his valuable exertions and kind encouragement of the efforts of the Institute on the present occasion." This having been carried, by acclamation, the Noble President expressed the satisfaction he had derived from the opportunity which had now been afforded to him, of participating in their proceedings, and evincing his cordial interest in the promotion of Archæological Science. He hoped that his health might permit him, as it would be his duty and desire, to be present at Salisbury, to resign the office he now held to Mr. Sidney Herbert, who had been selected as his successor. He felt much indebted to the Meeting for the kind manner in which they had expressed their approval of his exertions.

Lord Monson then rose, and said it was a pleasing duty to move the next resolution;—"That the cordial thanks of the Meeting be expressed to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, as Patron on this occasion, for the sanction and support which he had given to the proceedings." The character of the Right Rev. Prelate must be esteemed by every one who had the pleasure of knowing him; his courtesy and amenity must have been felt by all who had attended the meeting, and having himself the pleasure to reside in his Lordship's immediate neighbourhood, he had the more cause to appreciate his excellent qualities.

The Bishop of Lincoln believed his noble friend had paid him an undeserved compliment; the expressions for which he was indebted to Lord Monson's kindness, and which had called forth the warm applause of the Meeting, might, he felt, have too highly commended the services which he had been enabled to render to the Society on the present occasion. He most heartily thanked his Lordship and the Meeting at large.

Mr. J. M. Kemble said, he accepted the duty of proposing the next

vote with much pleasure, as he felt, what all must feel, that no branch of the Institutions of our Country deserved more respect, and, indeed, more generally enjoyed our esteem, love, and admiration, than the Clergy of our native land. Certainly there could be no place more proper to give expression to those feelings than that in which the meeting was then assembled, under the shadow of so noble a Cathedral. Of that glorious edifice it must be remembered that the Dean and Chapter were the guardians and trustees; he, therefore, proposed, "That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Dean, the Precentor and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, and to the Archdeacon and Clergy of the Diocese, for the facilities afforded in the examination of the Minster, and for their hospitality and friendly encouragement."

The Dean of Lincoln said, the authorities of the Cathedral were much gratified when they heard that the Archæological Institute proposed to visit Lincoln; and he could now say, with truth, that all their anticipations had been fully realised. They had had the pleasure of meeting many valued friends, and of seeing many, who although personally unknown to them, are known over the world by distinguished scientific or literary attainments. They had received many valuable hints as to their Cathedral, by which they hoped to profit; they feared it was not likely that the Institute would soon honour them with another visit, but if any section of the Society, or any individual members came amongst them, they might depend on a hearty welcome, and earnest endeavours to aid them in any scientific object they might have in view.

Andrew Lawson, Esq., in terms of well merited eulogy, then moved, "That the thanks of the Meeting be tendered to the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln, for their liberal hospitality, and for the gratification which they had afforded to the Members of the Institute and the Visitors here assembled." The Mayor cordially acknowledged the compliment.

Lord Alwyne Compton moved, "That thanks be cordially returned to the Vice Presidents of the meeting, to the High Sheriff of the County, the Duke of St. Alban's, the Earl Yarborough, the Viscount Alford, and the Nobility and Gentry of the County and City of Lincoln, for their countenance and friendly support." The Dean of Hereford seconded this resolution, and said, that, as a stranger, it did not become him to expatiate on the merits of the several personages, but there was one individual he might well take occasion to mention, as it was to him the Institute were mainly indebted for their visit to Lincoln, he meant Sir Charles Anderson. He felt sure that the mention of his name would excite enthusiasm; and let it be remembered, that in the publication of a Guide to the localities which they had lately visited, that gentleman had done good service to their object. It was gratifying to find the taste for archæology springing up in the country and pervading it generally, and more especially taking firm root in every district that the Institute had visited.

Lord Monson returned thanks, cordially expressing his kind feeling to the Society.

The President then moved, "That the humble thanks of this Meeting be tendered to Her Majesty the Queen, for her most gracious permission

to exhibit in the Museum the golden Torc, one of the most precious relics of ancient art ever brought to light in these Kingdoms." The Mayor of Lincoln seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

The Hon. E. L. Melville then proposed, "That the hearty acknowledgments of this Meeting be returned to the Honorable the Board of Ordnance, for their liberal permission to select for exhibition a choice series of examples from the National Armory in the Tower; to the High Sheriff of Lincolnshire; to the Honorable the Queen's Champion; the President and Members of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding; the Lincolnshire Architectural Society; and to all those persons whose liberal contributions to the Museum had so essentially augmented the gratification of the meeting."

The Bishop of Lincoln said, that when invited, last year, to become the Patron of the meeting, he had consented upon condition that he should be spectator and listener only; but he had been now called upon to move a resolution, and certainly, if he had to propose any on the present occasion, there was none he could have greater pleasure in submitting to the meeting;—"That thanks be given to the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Sections during the present meeting, especially to The Lord Monson, Mr. Hallam, the Rev. Francis Massingberd, and the Dean of Westminster; to the Members of Committees; and to all who had given their friendly cooperation on this occasion." His Lordship expressed regret that engagements had prevented his being present when Lord Monson read his interesting paper connected with the history of their county; he trusted that his Lordship would be enabled to complete that most desirable work, for which he had many years been collecting materials—a good County History—it was scarcely credible that so large a county, historically so full of interest, should be without such a record. Mr. Hallam's name was known to all, he possessed all the qualifications to constitute an accomplished historian. He thought the public were much indebted to Mr. Massingberd for a history of the Reformation, the careful perusal of which he would recommend to all who felt an interest in that momentous event, as a work devoid of party spirit, which had marred so many otherwise good ecclesiastical histories. The next name, that of the Dean of Westminster, was well known, not only in this Country, since he enjoyed an European reputation; he had highly gratified and instructed them much during the meeting, as an Archæologist as well as a Geologist.

The Dean of Lincoln seconded the resolution, observing, that he could add nothing to the well-merited praise which his Lordship had bestowed on the distinguished persons named in it.

Mr. Massingberd returned thanks. He heartily concurred in the objects of the Institute, and felt gratified if it had been in his power, in any way, to advance them on the present occasion.

The Marquis of Northampton said, he had a resolution to move, which he was sure the Meeting would receive with as much pleasure as he felt in proposing it;—"That the cordial thanks be given to Lord Middleton, Sir Charles Anderson, the Archdeacon of Nottingham,

Mr. Chaplin, the Magistrates of the County, the Directors of the Railways, and all whose hospitality, welcome, or liberality in affording facilities for the Excursions and other arrangements, had contributed to the successful issue of the Meeting." His Lordship observed the resolution was long, but this arose from the extreme liberality and kindness that every one had shown to them; he briefly alluded to the entertainment at Wollaton, and the hospitalities at Sir Charles Anderson's: he mentioned that gentleman that he might again hear his voice; they had often heard it with pleasure, but at no time more so, than when, at York, Sir Charles first invited the Institute to come to Lincoln.

Sir Charles Anderson acknowledged the compliment. Mr Hawkins then moved, "That the warmest thanks of the Institute be given to the Lincoln Local Committee; to the Worshipful the Mayor, their Chairman, and their Secretary, Mr. Carline; for their zealous and valuable assistance in preliminary arrangements; to the President and Council of the Mechanics' Institute; the Trustees of the City Library; the Curators of the Public Records of the Church and Diocese, Mr. Swan and Mr. Smith; for facilities of access and attentions obligingly rendered on this occasion." He remarked, how warmly and cordially all the members of the Institute felt the assistance rendered to them, and which they most fully appreciated.

Mr. Albert Way seconded this resolution, and said, that however much they might appreciate all the kindnesses his friend Mr. Hawkins had enumerated, there was one other feature of this meeting, which had shed additional lustre on their proceedings, and thrown a charm and grace over them unknown on former occasions. It had been most gratifying to perceive how many ladies had followed the bright example of Her Most Gracious Majesty (by whose permission so precious a relic of Early British times had enriched the Museum) in the encouragement of archæological inquiries; their presence had cheered and crowned with success proceedings hitherto accounted by some dull and unattractive. He would, therefore, beg permission to propose "The most cordial thanks of the Meeting to the Countess Brownlow and the Ladies of Lincolnshire."

The Noble President, having put the two last resolutions, they were, like those which had preceded them, carried unanimously, amidst hearty acclamations. The business of the meeting having been concluded, the President retired; a large number of those present then repaired to the Museum to take a farewell inspection of the treasures there collected.

DONATIONS.

The following list comprises the Donations towards the Local Expenses and General Purposes of the Institute, on the occasion of the Lincoln Meeting.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Earl Brownlow, *President*	15	0	0
The Marquis of Northampton (for the Lincoln Volume)	10	0	0
The Lord Bishop of Lincoln, *Patron* of the Meeting	10	0	0
Richard Ellison, Esq., High Sheriff (Lincoln Volume)	10	10	0
Sir Richard Westmacott	5	0	0
Mrs. Trollope (Lincoln Volume)	5	0	0
The Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln	2	0	0
The Rev. Professor Willis	1	0	0
Richard Carline, Esq.	1	1	0
J. Bailey Langhorne, Esq.	1	1	0
John Hayward, Esq.	1	1	0
Albert Way, Esq. (Lincoln Volume)	5	0	0
Contributions, by J. Drew, Esq.	1	2	6

CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES,

EXHIBITED IN THE MUSEUM FORMED DURING THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, HELD AT LINCOLN, IN JULY, 1848.

ANTIQUITIES BROUGHT FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES, COMPRISING ANCIENT REMAINS, EGYPTIAN, ETRUSCAN, GREEK, OR ROMAN, NOT CONNECTED WITH BRITAIN.

A Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, comprising figures and ornaments of bronze and porcelain, scarabæi, necklaces, alabaster vessels, a singular fictile vessel of yellowish-red ware, from Thebes, with one handle (the form much elongated in proportion to its diameter), amulets, and other remains. Also, a small vessel, or unguentary, formed of a kind of steatite, from Athens.—*The Rev. Edwin G. Jarvis, Vicar of Hackthorn.*

Scarabæus, from the tomb of the Egyptian Kings, within the Great Pyramid of Gizeh.—*Mr. A. S. Melville.*

Fictile vessel, brought from Egypt, about 1802, by the Hon. Capt. Courtney Boyle, and stated to have been found in one of the Pyramids. It is of greenish-grey ware, formed, apparently, to serve as a kind of dredger, having, a few inches below the mouth, a false bottom, with many perforations; and at the bottom there is a hole, as if to put in flour, or any like substance. There is one small handle. Height, 9¼ in.; width of mouth, 3¼ in.*—*Rev. John Wilson.*

Three Etruscan vases, from the Collection at Sudbrook Holme, one of very beautiful form, resembling that of a glass vase, from Agrigentum, exhibited by Lord Northampton; another being a vase, with two handles, of elegant design. —*Richard Ellison, Esq.*

Antique fictile lamps, two of them remarkable as bearing Christian emblems. An exquisite glass vase, from Agrigentum, and specimens of glass, from excavations at Nola.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

A bronze fibula, of the bow-shaped type, the curved portion very much dilated, and hollow; ornamented with striæ and the little concentric circles, of frequent occurrence both on Roman and British objects of metal or bone. Montfaucon gives several examples of this peculiar type: Antiqu. Expl., Tom. III., pl. xxviii. Length, about 4 inches. Purchased at Perugia.—*Rev. Edwin G. Jarvis.*

Terra-cotta lamp, dug up at Tivoli, about 1820. There is nothing remarkable in its form, but it deserves notice on account of the words—AVE NERON stamped upon the base.—*Rev. John Wilson.*

* It bears some resemblance in form to that of the Egyptian Vase, Brongniart, Traité, pl. xxii., fig. 8.

EARLY BRITISH ANTIQUITIES, ROMAN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES.

AN arrow-head, of white silex, found on Manton Common, near Brigg, Lindsey, and a stone axe-head, of the early British period, found near Lincoln.
Mr. E. J. Willson.

A bronze celt, found in North Lincolnshire.—*Miss Ellen Slater.*

Eleven bronze celts, of various forms, part of a collection discovered in the river Witham, near Lincoln.*—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Bronze celt, found at West Ashby, near Horncastle, Lincolnshire.
Rev. W. M. Pierse.

A bronze celt-mould, found in Washingboro' Fen, near Lincoln, and a celt of the same metal.—*Mr. Edward Betham.*

A bronze spear-head, with the jaw of a boar, found four feet below the surface, in Potter Hanworth Fen, in 1841.—*Mr. W. Brown, of Bardney.*

Three bronze swords, found near the Witham, at Washingborough.
Mr. E. L. Betts.

A bronze sword, found in the river Witham. The hilt is of bronze, formed with two volutes, resembling some discovered in the north of Europe, as also the bronze swords found at Heilly, near Corbie, and at other places in France: (Encycl. Method. Recueil d'Antiquités, pl. lxix., texte, p. 29; Worsaae's Primeval Antiquities of Denmark, edit. by Mr. Thoms, p. 28.)—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Two bronze swords, found in dredging in the river Thames.
Mr. Robert Porrett, F.S.A.

An unique object of bronze, a kind of chisel, found in a tumulus at Pitcur, co. Fife. (See woodcuts.)—*The Hon. J. Talbot.*

An inscribed tablet, discovered in 1849, in Monson Street, Lincoln. The spot appeared to have been a cemetery in Roman times; and the tablet, with other remains, was found broken (as supposed) intentionally, and thrown into a cavity in the soil. They lay about 8 feet beneath the surface. The inscription has been read thus:—"Titus Vaerius Titi filius Claudia (tribu) Pudens Savia miles Legionis II. Augustæ piæ fidelis Centuriæ Dessenni Proculi. Annos XXX. Æra . . II . . de sua pecunia, hic situs est."—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

Sepulchral tablet, found on the side of the river Witham, towards Saxelby, Lincolnshire. The inscription has been thus read†:—

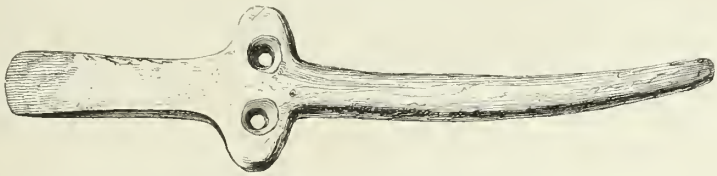
* L Q M *
C L A V D I A E
C R I S I D I
V I X I T *
A N * L X X X X
H E R E D E S *
* P * C *

Exhibited by Col. Sibthorp, M.P.

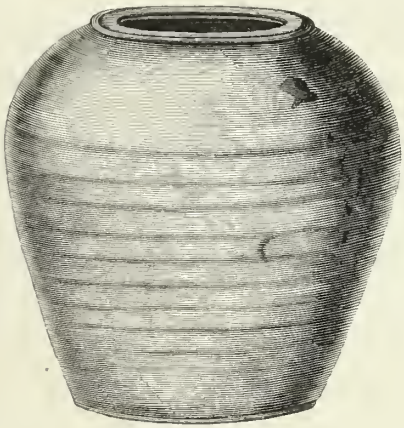
Roman sculptures and dedicatory inscription, discovered at Ancaster, Lincolnshire (possibly the CAVSENNAE of the Itinerary), about the year 1838. These interesting remains consist of a representation of the *Deæ Matres*, found, with a

* Some specimens of this collection were kindly presented to the Institute by Mr. Willson, at the close of the meeting.

† The ivy-leaf, frequently introduced in Roman inscriptions, is here represented by an *.

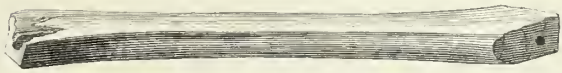


Unique bronze implement, found in a tumulus near Pitcur, N. Britain.
Exhibited by the Hon. James Talbot.
(Length of orig. 7½ in. Catal. ,p. xxviii.)



Urn found in the centre of the burial-place at Lamel Hill, near York
(Height and greatest breadth, about 12½ in.)
Exhibited by Dr. Tburnam.

9 in.



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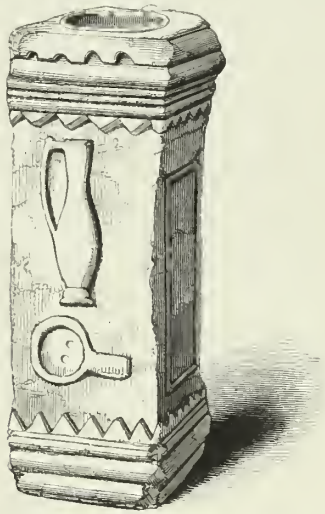
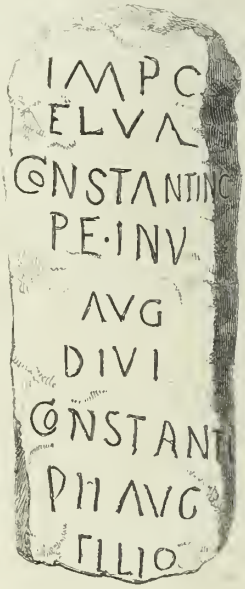
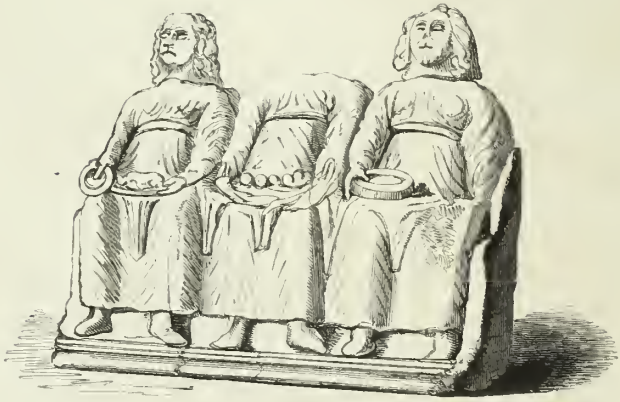
Bone skates found at Lincoln.
Exhibited by Arthur Trollope, Esq.
(Museum Catal., p. xxxii.)







Altar, inscribed slab, and rude sculpture representing the Deæ Matres.
Exhibited by the Rev. Z. S. Warren.
(Catalogue of Lincoln Museum p. xxix.)

short column, an altar, and considerable remains of a basement or foundations of stone, in digging a grave in the churchyard at that place, on the south side of the church. The altar has a *focus* on the top, the *præfericulum* and *patera* on one side, and, on the other, a hand grasping a ring. The inscription was discovered on the north side of the village, very near the surface; with fragments of Roman pottery, bones, and other remains. (See the annexed Illustrations.) It may be thus read:—

IMP. C. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINO
P. F. INV. AVG. DIVI CONSTANTI.
PII AVG. FILIO.

(Imperatori Cæsari Flavio Valerio Constantino Pio Felici Invicto Augusto Divi Constantii Pii Augusti Filio.) Constantine the Great, eldest son of Constantius Chlorus, who died at York, A. D. 306, then assumed the title of Cæsar, and received that of Augustus in 308. He died in May, 337.*

The CAUSENNAE of the Fifth Iter, between *Durobrivæ* and *Lindum*, is placed by Horsley at Ancaster; but Reynolds considered the site to be at Boston.†

The Rev. Z. S. Warren, Vicar of Ancaster.

Various ancient relics, found at Holywell Hall, Lincolnshire; comprising a ring-fibula, of bronze, ornamented with little impressed circles, and possibly of Anglo-Roman date; a bead, of reddish-coloured agate, found in an aged tree; a small vase, of fine grey ware; a bronze scale, for weighing; a bronze armilla, the edge indented, resembling those found, with Roman remains, in Cadbury Camp, Devon. (Arch. Journ., Vol. V., p. 193.) It was found at Careby, Lincolnshire. Also, a few Roman coins, from the same neighbourhood.—*Rev. J. B. Reynardson.*

Bronze armillæ, rings, pins, &c., rings of jet or anthracite, signet-ring set with a fictitious gem, bearing a singular device; fragments of urns, and various remains of late Roman times, discovered in a shaft or ancient well, in Cadbury Camp, Devon, excavated in 1848. (See Arch. Journ., Vol. V., p. 193.)

Mr. Charles Tucker.

A bronze Roman lamp, in the form of a dragon; found in Lincoln, with a sepulchral inscription to the memory of Sempronius Flavinius. Two cinerary urns, of the Roman period, found at Boultham, near Lincoln.—*The Mechanics' Institute, at Lincoln.*

Romano-British cinerary urns, found at Lincoln. (Presented to the Institute.) —*Mr. Frischney.*

An extensive and valuable assemblage of ornaments and remains of the Anglo-Roman age, discovered in recent excavations at Lincoln; comprising, especially, some bronze ornaments, inlaid with white metal, curious relics formed of bone, jet, &c., with a very instructive series illustrating the progress of Fictile manufactures and the productions of the *figuli* of LINDUM.—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

Roundel, or *tessera*, of bone, ornamented with small impressed circles; found, with Roman remains, in the High-street, Lincoln. Possibly a piece used in some game resembling draughts; its date questionable.—*Mr. Philip N. Brockedon.*

Two similar roundels, of bone, found, with Roman remains, at Caerleon.

Mr. John E. Lee.

A bronze figure, of diminutive size, or *lar*, representing Minerva; discovered at Dene, in Northamptonshire.—*The Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln.*

A small bronze figure of Mercury, found at Pierse Bridge, Durham (AD TISAM). See Archæologia, Vol. IX., pl. xix., p. 289.—*Mr. J. G. Nichols.*

* Compare the dedicatory inscriptions to Constantine. Horsley, Westmoreland, No. 2; Northumberland, No. 81.

† Camden considered Ancaster to be the *Crococolana* of Iter VI., and speaks of Roman remains there: ed. Gough, vol. ii., pp. 335, 353. See Stukeley's Notices of Ancaster, Itin. Cur. p. 81, and Horsley, p. 433; Reynolds, Iter Britann., p. 261.

Two bronze skillets, found in 1845, in Arnagill, near Swinton, Yorkshire, and preserved in the Museum at Swinton Park. On the handle of one of them is represented a thyrsus. (See the annexed representations.)—*Mr. Charles Tucker.*

Roman, or Romano-British remains, found near the East Gate, Lincoln, comprising various fibulæ, a bronze bell, pins and ornaments of bronze, &c.; also, armillæ of bronze, found on the arm-bone of a young female interred in a singular tomb formed of tiles of Roman fabrication, discovered in the grounds adjoining to the residence of Mr. Dudding.—*Mr. John Dudding, Lincoln.*

A beautiful example of enamelled work of the Romano-British age, a bronze fibula, found in Lincolnshire.—*Miss Ellen Slater.*

Another enamelled bronze fibula, of the same period, of very elegant form, found in Lincoln.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Roman fibulæ and ornaments, of the same rare character as the last, of enamelled bronze, the cavities for the enamel chased out on the surface of the metal, as in the *champ-levé* process of the twelfth century. Discovered at Caerleon, South Wales.—*Mr. Jenkins and Mr. J. E. Lee, of Caerlêon.*

Specimens of tessellated pavement, found in 1846, during excavations for the erection of the New County Jail, within the precincts of the Castle, at Lincoln; also, various specimens of glass, probably of the Roman period, found in Lincoln.
Mr. Arthur Trollope.

Portion of tessellated pavement, found in the Castle, at Lincoln, in 1846; a specimen of Roman tile, with one of the metal fastenings used therewith, found at Lincoln, in 1848; and a specimen of Roman concrete, with a stratum of yellow cement, obtained in a cutting through the ancient *via*, in the High-street, Lincoln. Also, seven beads, of coloured vitreous paste, found in Lincoln; a brass pyx, of unknown use (see Woodcuts), fragments of "Samian" found with it, and other remains.—*Mr. Philip N. Brockedon.*

Portion of an ancient conduit, for the supply of water to the Roman city of *Lindum;* found in forming the New Road, Lincoln. A curious account of former discoveries of this nature at Lincoln, with illustrations, may be found in Camden's Britannia, ed. Gough, Vol. ii., p. 366.—*The Rev. C. C. Beatty Pownall.*

Fictile vessels, specimens of "Samian," and Anglo-Roman ware, of great variety of form and fabrication, comprising many examples of interest, wholly collected during recent excavations in and around the city of Lincoln. This series was very remarkable on account of its instructive and varied character. Amongst the potters' stamps may be noticed on fragments of Samian,—MACRIANI. M—..NDECENIM—VOCEV F (?)—ATILIANI M—VXOPIIL M.—SEXTVS F—PECVLIARIS F—MAIAVCNI—M BVCIANI—TITV..O..(?) DIVIX.F., also OSASER, on the broken handle of an *amphora* or *dolium*,—SOLIVS F. on a vessel of pale red ware, and—LV. LE. on a large wall tile.—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

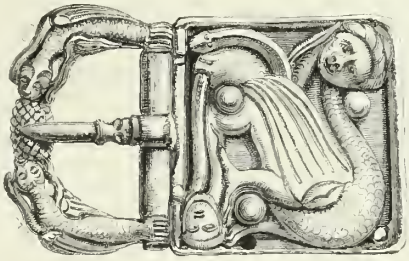
Specimens of ancient pottery, chiefly of Anglo-Roman fabrication, cinerary urns, and a few examples of "Samian," found near the East Gate, Lincoln; also, a Roman wall-tile, with other vestiges of the same age.—*Mr. J. Dudding.*

Several interesting specimens of ancient pottery, found in Lincoln.
Mr. J. Fardell, F.S.A.

Two small lamps, of terra-cotta, found in Lincoln, and a small urn, of fictile ware, found near the Asylum, in that city.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

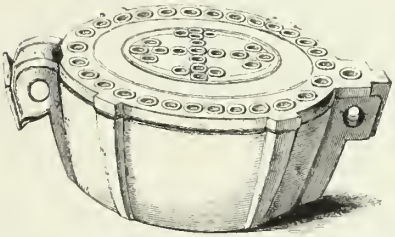
Fragments of Roman pottery, tesseræ, and specimens of concrete and mortar, from the theatre recently discovered at Verulam. A full description of this interesting structure, first noticed and investigated by Mr. R. G. Lowe, has been published by the St. Albans' Architectural Society.*—*Mr. J. M. Kemble.*

* Published by Mr. Bell, Fleet Street, 8vo., 1848, plates.



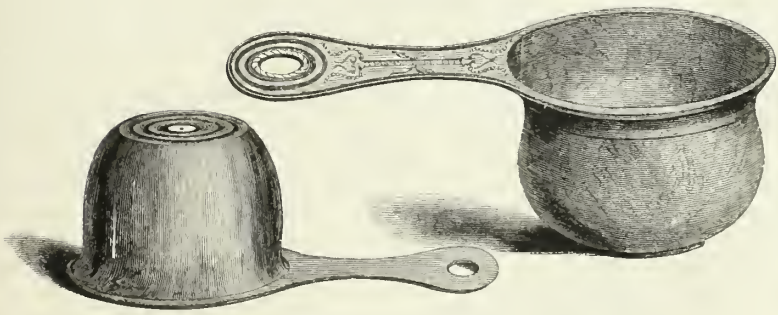
Bronze buckle found at Lincoln.

Exhibited by Edw. J. Willson, Esq. (Orig. size.)



Bronze box, found with Roman remains at Lincoln

Exhibited by the late P. N. Brockedon, Esq. (Catal., p. xxx. Orig. size.)



Bronze skillets, found near Swinton Park, Yorkshire.

Exhibited by Charles Tucker, Esq. (Catal., p. xxix. One quarter size of the originals.)

ANGLO-SAXON OR ANTE-NORMAN, AND EARLY IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

A very singular vase, or shallow cup, of silver-gilt, most curiously ornamented on both sides with filagree work, fictitious gems, and *plaques* of vitreous paste, forming a kind of mosaic, resembling Oriental work in its design. In the centre of the vase there is a figure of an animal, possibly a cameleopard. This remarkable vase appears to have been contrived so as to be suspended, and it was possibly one of the hanging *pelves* anciently used amongst sacred decorations. It was found in clearing out the bed of the river Witham, near Lincoln, about 1820, and was purchased by the late Coningsby Waldo Sibthorp. Esq., by whom it was bequeathed to his brother-in-law, John Hawkins, Esq.—*John Heywood Hawkins, Esq., Bignor Park, Sussex.*

Three pins, of silver-gilt, headed with flat disks, measuring about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, highly ornamented with interlaced work and intertwined dragons or wyverns, in the style of the sculptured crosses of the ante-Norman period. Each of these circular plates had a jewel or fictitious gem in the centre, surrounded by four others, and the general arrangement of decoration appears intended to give a cruciform effect, analogous to the sculptured heads of some stone crosses in Wales, Ireland, &c. The disks are linked together by narrow plates, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length, chased with scroll ornaments of the same period. These unique ornaments had been supposed to have been worn in the hair, or as a kind of coronet, being fixed into a head-dress of tissue. The pins are extremely sharp. They were found in the bed of the river Witham, near Lincoln.

A dish, or *pelvis*, described as of pure copper, found about 1700, on the site of Chertsey Abbey, Surrey. It bears on the rim an inscription, in characters partly Runic or Anglo-Saxon, partly Roman, which have been thus read by Mr. Kemble: —GÆTEOH URÆCKO, and interpreted as signifying—"Offer, Sinner!" It was probably an offertory vessel, and may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century. It is the property of Mr. Wetton, of Chertsey, whose family had long possessed the Abbey lands. Dimensions:—diameter, 7 in.; depth, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (See Archæologia, Vol. xxx., p. 40.)—*Mr. J. M. Kemble.*

An oval dish, or basin, of mixed yellow metal, found in the bed of the river Witham, about five miles below Lincoln, with various antiquities assigned to the Ante-Norman period. Dimensions, $12\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{8}$ in.; depth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Mr. E. J. Willson, F.S.A.

Ancient bell, of bronze plate, hammered and rivetted together. Found on the supposed site of Offa's Palace, at Marden, Herefordshire. Engraved in Arch. Journ., Vol. v., p. 329.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Cruciform fibula, of bronze, of the Anglo-Saxon age, found in Suffolk.
Mr. W. Whincopp.

A very curious sword, the blade of iron, sheathed in a scabbard of bronze, which is mounted with a peculiar embossed and engraved ornament, bearing resemblance in the character of design, to that of the bronze coating of a shield, found about 1826 in the Witham, near Washingborough, and now preserved in the armory at Goodrich Court.* (See Archæologia, Vol. xxiii., pl. xiii. Skelton's Illustr. of the Meyrick Armory, pl. xlvii.) It was also discovered in the bed of the river Witham.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Two iron swords, in bronze scabbards, one of which has some appearance of gilding. They were found in the Witham, at Washingborough, and bear much resemblance to the remarkable weapons discovered in 1787, in the same river,

* Presented to Sir S. Meyrick, through the Earl Brownlow, by the Rev. Humphrey W. Sibthorpe, near whose property this unique object was found.

near Bardney Abbey, one of which, represented in Philos. Trans., 1796, tab. xi. may now be seen in the Library over the Cloisters at Lincoln Cathedral.
S. M. Peto, Esq., M.P., and James Peto, Esq.

Another iron sword, in a bronze scabbard, found in the Witham, at Bardney. Length of the scabbard, 2 ft. 7½ in.—*The Rev. the Precentor.*

A collection of weapons and antiquities, discovered in Ireland (see woodcuts), consisting of two iron swords, iron spear-heads, dagger, axe-head, chain and ring (supposed to have been a manacle), an iron ladle, a small knife, and other curious relics, found in a remarkable tumulus at Lagore, co. Meath. (See Arch. Journ., Vol. vi., p. 101.) Also, a bronze sword, found near Innfield, co. Kildare; a small celt, and bronze arrow-head; an object formed of stone, supposed to have been a projectile for the sling; four arrow-heads, of silex, and one lozenge-formed, discovered in co. Antrim; and three small axe-heads, of stone, found in Ireland.—*The Hon. James Talbot.*

Cast, in plaster, from a bronze torc, originally ornamented with gems or fictitious pastes, found in the parish of Wraxall, Somerset.—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

A bronze torc, of the beaded type, found in a small bronze basin, in Sochar Moss, Scotland. (Archæologia, Vol. xxxiii., pl. xv.; Arch. Journ., Vol. iii., p. 159.)—*Mr. Thomas Gray, of Liverpool.*

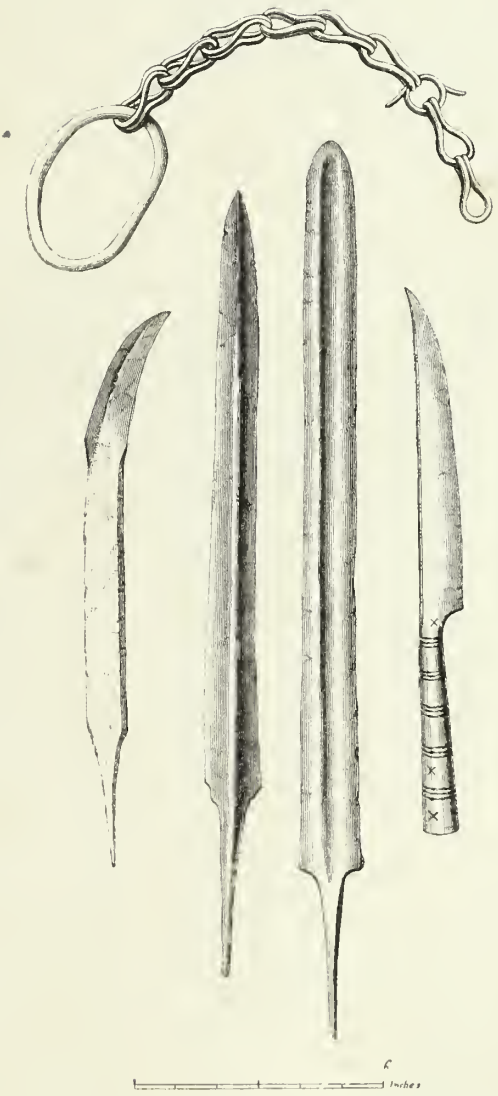
A bronze ring-fibula, either of the late Roman or of Saxon date; found in Lincoln. Diameter, 1¼ in. Another, precisely similar, found with Anglo-Roman remains at Chesterford, is in the Hon. R. Neville's Museum, at Audley End.—*Rev. Edwin Jarvis.*

Armilla, of bronze, twisted, 2⅛ inches internal diameter; found in the Castle Yard, Lincoln, in digging for the foundations of the New County Hall, Dec., 1822. Four or five other armillæ were found at the same spot, at a depth of twenty feet or upwards. Many foundations of buildings were discovered, some of them having been anciently arched over, with semicircular arches. The other armillæ were all broken, and most of them of slighter form than this specimen; a second, similar to it, was found broken into two pieces. They were ornamented with circular marks, engraved or impressed on the outside. Similar armillæ were dug up at Kingerby, when the Hall was rebuilt, about the end of the last century: one of them, as it was stated, was found upon the arm-bone of a human skeleton. —*Mr. Edward J. Willson.*

Skates, formed of the leg-bone of a small horse, or other animal, discovered in Lincoln. One side was shaved off, presenting a smooth flat surface, and in some examples there is a transverse perforation through one end, doubtless to pass a strap; and, at the other end, another, in a lengthwise direction, which might receive a peg or hook, for the purpose of attachment to the foot. Similar skates have been found at York, and are preserved in the Museum there. They have been also found in various parts of London, especially in the boggy soil of Moorfields, as stated by Mr. Roach Smith, in whose collection they are. It is very remarkable that Stephanides, in his account of the sports of the citizens, describes sliding on that very moor, north of London, and says, that "some bind to their shoes leg-bones of animals, therewith moving with speed as a bird," &c. The practice was in use in Northern Europe, and is described by Olaus Magnus.* One of the relics of this nature exhibited was of greater length and weight than is suitable for such use, and possibly was used with some kind of sledge, or as a "runner," to facilitate the removal of a boat: it was found, in 1848, near an ancient canoe, disinterred in forming the Great Northern Railway, at Stixwold Ferry. (See Woodcuts.)—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

Collection of remains of various kinds, found in excavations at Lamel-hill, near York, in 1847-48, with fragments of metal, supposed to have been affixed to coffins, &c., deposited in the singular tumular cemetery at that spot, attributed to the

* See Mr. Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, p. 167, where representations of these curious relics are given.



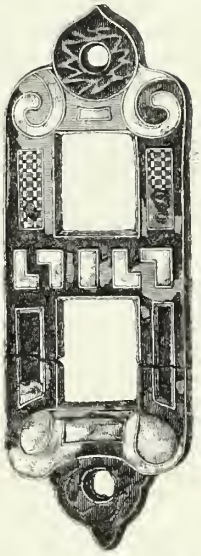
Iron weapons and part of a manacle.

Exhibited in the Museum of the Institute, at Lincoln, by the Hon. James Talbot.
(Catal., p. xxxii.)

Iron axe, Length 7 in

Bronze pin.
(Orig. size.)

Iron spear-heads.

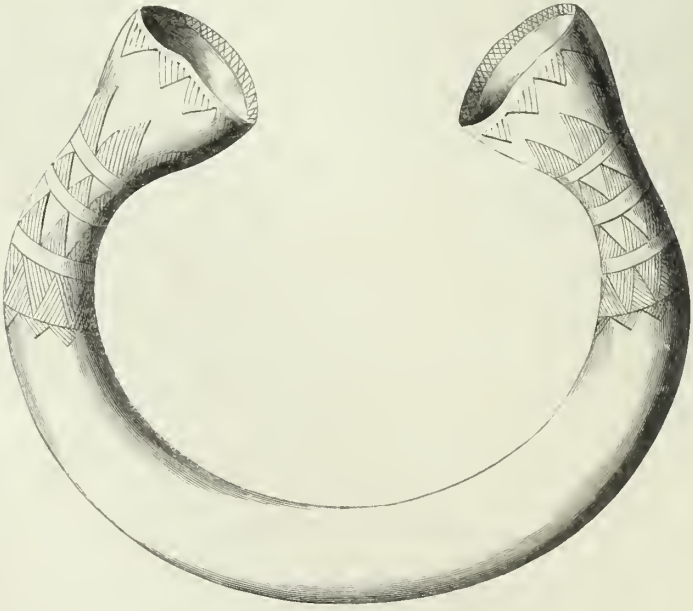


Enamelled plate (Orig. size.)

Bronze bowl and iron ladle.

Exhibited in the Museum at Lincoln, by the Hon. James Talbot.

Portion of an unique gold torc, found in 1848, in Needwood Forest.
Orig. size. Weight, 1 lb. 1 oz. 7 dwts. 10 grs. (Museum Catal. p. xxxiii.)
EXHIBITED BY PERMISSION OF HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.



Gold ornament, found at Brahalish, near Bantry, Co. Cork.
Weight, 3 oz. 5 dwts. 6 grs.
(From the Piltown Coll. Orig. size.)

Anglo-Saxon period, as described in the Archaeological Journal, Vol. vi., pp. 27, 123. Also, a remarkable urn found in the centre of the tumulus, supposed to be likewise of Anglo-Saxon times . Height, 12¼ in. ; diameter, 13 in. (See woodcut.)
John Thurnam, Esq., M. D.

Portion of the masses of molten lead, found at Stow Church, Lincolnshire, about 1846, with charred wood, and other evidences of violent combustion, 2½ feet below the level of the Norman floor, where a more ancient floor and foundation walls appeared, indicating the existence of a prior fabric, destroyed by fire. These vestiges are regarded as interesting, since they corroborate the notion that the church of Stow had been the Saxon Cathedral of Sidnacester, and of the diocese, founded A.D. 678, ultimately removed to Lincoln. This original church is believed to have been burned by the Danes, in their great inroad, A.D. 870.* (Presented to the Institute.)—*Mr. Frischney.*

ORNAMENTS OF GOLD DISCOVERED IN ENGLAND AND IN IRELAND.

THE unique Torc, of fine gold, from the Royal Collection, discovered in May, 1848, in a wood called the Greaves, part of Needwood Forest, at the mouth of a fox-earth, recently made, and brought to light by a singular chance, in consequence of the soil being thus disturbed. It was found by the keeper, on the surface of the freshly turned-up mould. This very remarkable ornament is peculiar in being formed of several twisted bars, eight in number, each pair loosely twined into a separate strand, and the four cords again loosely twined together; the extremities of the whole being welded into massive loops, which are curiously tooled with chevrony lines and small circular indentations, the upper edge beaded. By these loops this singular collar might be attached, either by means of a cord, a flexible hook, or ring.† (See the annexed Illustrations.) The weight is 5,590 grains, or 1lb. 1oz. 7dwts. 10grs. A representation of this torc is given in the Archæologia, Vol. xxxiii., p. 176. This magnificent ornament was exhibited by the permission of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

A precious series of gold ornaments, torques, rings, "ring money," and fibulæ, from the collection of the late Mr. Anthony, of Piltown, Ireland, and wholly discovered in that country. They consisted of specimens of the peculiar crescent-shaped ornament of thin gold plate, supposed by some antiquaries to have been worn as a gorget, by others to have enriched the head-dress like a tiara ; they are mostly engraved with chevrony lines ; armillæ, of various types, plain and twisted, one with a small wire gracefully twined around a larger one ; also, specimens with cup-shaped extremities ; torques, one formed of a flat gold bar, like a twisted ribbon, another of quadrangular wire ; three torque-rings, similar in general character to those represented in the Archaeological Journal, Vol. vi., p. 58 ; an ornament of gold, supposed to have been an ear-ring, or nose-jewel ; six penannular rings, very massive, of the kind frequently called "ring money ;" two massive pieces of gold, perhaps intended to be used in traffic, as money ; and a remarkable ornament, a thin circular plate of gold, discovered at Kilmuckridge, co. Wexford, supposed to have been worn by the early Christian Kings of Ireland. It measures, in diameter, 2⅞ in. ; and is ornamented with a cross, surrounded by circles.‡
Mr. Henry Farrer.

* See a Memoir on Stow Church, by the Rev. G. Atkinson, in the Third Report of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society, 1846.

† Compare the "annulus ex aurichalco gigantis, ut fertur, Islandici," formerly in Wormius' Museum. Bartholin. de Armillis, p. 44.

‡ See similar ornaments found in Ireland, Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i., p. 244, Archæologia, vol. ii., pl. 1. There is one now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, found near Ballyshannon, and figured in Ware's Antiqu. of Ireland, and Camden's Britannia. This choice assemblage of Early Irish ornaments, &c., above noticed, has subsequently been added to the collections in the British Museum.

MEDIÆVAL ANTIQUITIES, ARMS AND ARMOUR, &c.

A mass of indurated chain-mail, probably a hauberk, found with a human skull, an iron sword and javelin head, at a depth of nearly 5 feet, in cuttings near Stixwold, adjacent to the banks of the Witham. A small stud or button of bright metal, supposed to be gold, is seen in the mail. A similar semi-fossilised mass of mail, found in railway operations in France, is in the Lord Hastings' Museum, and was exhibited by him in the Archaeological Museum, at Norwich, in 1847.—*Mr. Philip N. Brockedon.*

A fine sword, of the fourteenth century, found in the Witham. The blade bears an inscription: the letters inlaid in yellow metal. (See the accompanying Illustrations.) This interesting weapon was presented subsequently to the Institute. A notice of its discovery is given in Gent. Mag., vol. xcvi., pt. 2, p. 302.—*Mr. Swan.*

A sword, with basket-hilt, of the times of the Commonwealth, dredged up in Brayford Mere.—*Mr. Philip N. Brockedon.*

A short sword, found in ploughing at Barrow-on-Humber. Date, about 1450. Iron weapons, found in the Witham, a gisarme, three spurs, &c. Also a curious fire-arrow, one of a large number of these destructive missiles found in an old timbered house near the High Bridge, Lincoln. Actual length, in broken state, 10½ inches. The head is barbed, and just below it is attached an oval mass of combustible matter, covered with cloth, and compacted by a net-work of cord. Near the top still appear little broken pegs of wood, which served to close certain cavities in which fine priming-powder was placed, and were taken out when the missile was used. See similar arrows represented in the "rich Cabinet with variety of Inventions by J. W(hite)." Lond. 1658, p. 119. They are termed arrows of wild-fire, to be shot from a cross-bow, and an excellent way to fire sails of a ship, or wooden gates, &c., in time of war.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

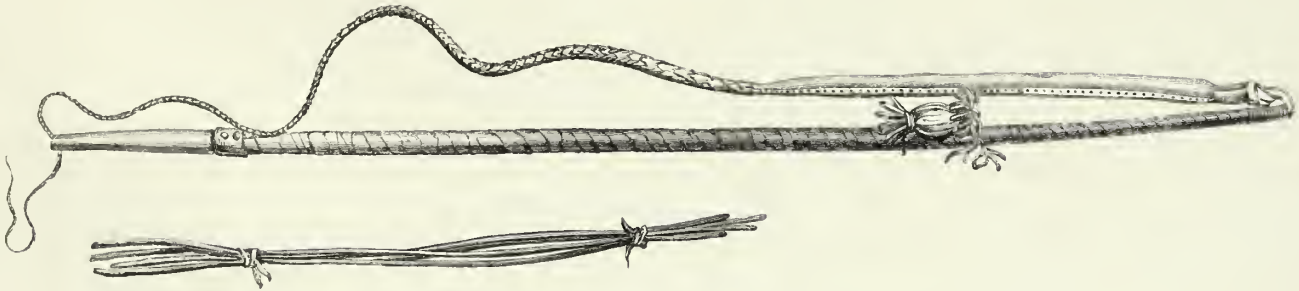
Two suits of armour, cap-à-pee, from the collection at Scrivelsby Court, one of them having been worn by the Hon. the Champion at the coronation of George IV.—*The Hon. the Queen's Champion.*

A pair of breast and back plates, and an open head-piece, of the seventeenth century, from the old City Armory, at Lincoln.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Series of head-pieces of various periods, from the Tower Armory, commencing with the basinet of the reign of Richard II. or Henry IV., with the camail of chain-mail attached thereto, a specimen of very great rarity; another basinet, of the reign of Henry V.; a remarkable "standard of mail," or defence for the neck and throat, which succeeded the camail towards the latter part of the fifteenth century; salades, one of them with a visor, of the times of Henry VI. and Henry VII.; a burgonet, of the time of Richard III.; morions, one richly engraved, also a "combed" morion, both of the reign of Elizabeth; a singular "spider helmet," of the time of Henry IV., of France, formed with bars radiating from the crown, and hanging over the face; the open head-piece with cheeks, worn with buff coats by the dragoons, *t.* Charles I.; the barred and the pot-helmets of the infantry, at the same period; and the "skull," or iron cap, worn in the crown of the hat, in the reign of Charles II. Also a collection of daggers, anelaces, *t.* Henry VIII., stilettos, a plug-bayonet, the first form of that weapon, being only a dagger with a handle to fix in the muzzle of the firelock; it was thus used in the reign of Charles II. Also a leathern glove, partially overlaid with very fine chain-mail. This rare specimen is probably of the seventeenth century. The whole of these were sent from the National Collection.—*Exhibited by permission of the Hon. Board of Ordnance.*

Inscribed sword found in the River Witham, in 1826.

Presented to the Institute by Robert Swan, Esq., Registrar to the Bishop of Lincoln.
(Catal. of Museum, p. xxxiv.)



The Gad whip, formerly used in the Manorial service rendered at Broughton, Lincolnshire

Presented to the Institute by Joseph Moore, Esq., of Lincoln. (Catal., p. xxxix.)

The Clephane iron arm, an ingenious piece of mechanism, intended to supply the place of an arm, lost in battle by one of the gallant Clan Clephane, of Carslogie, near Cupar. It is contrived with much skill, so as to enable the wearer to close the fingers, and clench a weapon.* Engraved in Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

An iron spur, of the Norman period, with a pyramidal head, of very massive and ponderous dimensions, the neck very short, the shanks curved. Found in the parish of St. Martin, Lincoln. Another iron spur, of rather different fashion, found at Boultham, near Lincoln ; the head pyramidal, and neck of moderate length. Date, twelfth century.—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

An iron spur, with a pyramidal head, also of the twelfth century, the neck longer than the last, and the form better fashioned. Another iron spur, with a six-pointed rowel, the neck long, a good example of the latter part of the fifteenth century, in excellent preservation. Also, a bronze pomel of a dagger or small sword ; on the flat side is engraved a plain cross. It was found in the River Witham.—*Major Ellison.*

An iron pryck spur, of the same age, preserved in the Tower Armory. Also, a remarkable massive silver spur, with a very large rowel of many points, the shanks straight, inscribed outside,—A TRVE KNIGHT. BY. GOD ANGER ME AND TRY ; and within—WIN THEME AND WARE THEME. 1574. The original leathern straps, and complete silver mountings, are in perfect preservation.—*The Hon. the Board of Ordnance.*

A battle-axe, found at Dunvegan Castle, in the Isle of Skye.—Also, a singular object of bronze, found in Ireland, supposed to have been attached to a horse's bridle, and to have supported a plume or other ornament above the head. See a similar relic preserved in the Museum at Trinity College, Dublin, and represented in Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, Vol. iv., Pl. xv.

Mr. R. Porrett, F. S. A.

An iron branks, of unique and most singular fashion, with a long peak resembling a snout, bearing some resemblance to the peculiar form of the military headpiece, *t.* Richard II. This curious vestige of ancient customs was intended for the wholesome discipline of an incorrigible scold, upon whose head it was attached, with a lock, and it served as a gag. (See the annexed Illustrations.)

Col. Jarvis, Doddington.

Various ancient relics, found amongst the remains of the Preceptory at Temple Bruere, Lincolnshire, now the property of Charles Chaplin, Esq., M.P. They consist of fragments of painted glass ; a knife-handle of bone, very elegantly carved ; a small brass bell, or *grêlot*, for a hawk or hound ; three keys, bronze buckles, and an arrow-head of iron ; also a miniature match-lock gun, of brass, *t.* Elizabeth, found at Blankney.—*Charles Chaplin, Esq., M.P.*

A collection of ancient ornaments, rings, seals, fibulæ, keys, knives, and objects of metal and bone, &c., chiefly discovered at Colchester, in the Thames, and in various parts of London.—*Mr. W. Whincopp, Woodbridge.*

Four ancient knives, discovered in dredging in the River Witham.

Mr. J. W. Colman.

SACRED ORNAMENTS, SPECIMENS OF GOLDSMITH'S WORK, PERSONAL ORNAMENTS, AND APPLIANCES OF DOMESTIC USE.

A charger, or laver, of fine latten metal, of German fabrication, used for ablutions, either after a repast, or occasionally in the services of the Church. The central device is the Holy Lamb, represented as bleeding, the blood received in a

* In the armory at Goodrich Court, an iron arm of the sixteenth century is preserved. Skelton's Illustr., pl. 67. The iron arm of Gottfried of Berlichingen, who died 1562, still preserved in his castle, is celebrated in Germany, and an account of it, with plates, has been published at Berlin.

chalice. This symbol is surrounded by an elegant border of vine-leaves, and an inscribed band, bearing the following words, five times repeated, *ICH*BART* GELVK*ALZEIT. Diameter of the charger, 16½ inches. Date, about 1550.—*Mr. Willson.*

The ancient iron keys of Fotheringhay Castle, four in number, with a set of implements, turn-screw, &c., supposed to have been used for fixing the fetters of prisoners.—*The Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln.*

A stone mortar, found in the parish of St. Swithin, Lincoln, in 1848.—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

Another stone mortar, of different form, found in Lincoln.—*Mr. J. W. Colman.*

Several knives, shears, resembling those which are often seen on sepulchral cross-slabs, and a very curious stirrup, of mixed metal, elaborately inlaid with metal of a different colour, forming a complex scroll-ornament. This curious object was presented to the Institute.—*Mr. Hayward, Beaumont Manor.*

The head of a crosier, a choice specimen of the enamelled work of Limoges, about the close of the twelfth century.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

A crucifix, discovered in Hereford Cathedral.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Central portion of a processional cross.—*Mr. J. Gough Nichols, F.S.A.*

A processional cross, of latten metal gilt, probably of Flemish workmanship. Date, late in fifteenth century. Also a tablet of gilt metal, representing the Crucifixion, a rosary of agate beads, a "string of tens;" and two small bronze crucifixes, of early date, found in Lincoln, and a bronze buckle of very remarkable workmanship. (See woodcut.)—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

A chalice of silver, parcel-gilt, of Florentine workmanship, of the early part of the fifteenth century.—*Mr. H. Porteus Oakes.*

Episcopal rings of gold, set with gems, discovered in the tombs of John Stanbury, Bishop of Hereford, who died 1474, and Richard Mayew, Bishop of the same See, deceased 1516, and interred in Hereford Cathedral.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

An interesting collection of relics discovered at various times in tombs of ecclesiastics interred in Lincoln Minster. It comprised a silver chalice, a gold pontifical ring, and portions of a pastoral staff, stated to have been found with the remains of Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235—1254; a silver chalice and paten, from the grave of Benedict de Gravesend, Bishop of Lincoln, 1258—1280; a paten, on which is represented an episcopal personage, with his hand upraised in benediction; a chalice, in a very decayed state, described as having been found in the tomb of Simon de Barton, Archdeacon of Stow, who died in 1280; another gold ring, set with a gem, and a ring, the setting lost; a chalice of pewter; a large brass matrix of a seal connected with the diocese of Lincoln; and several curious drawings, representing stone coffins, and various discoveries of sepulchral remains in the Minster.—*The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.*

A chalice and paten, of pewter, found in excavating a stone-quarry, in the East Field, near the East Gate, Lincoln.—*Mr. J. Fardell, F.S.A.*

A chalice and paten, of pewter, found, in 1847, in a stone coffin discovered in excavations at Lincoln.—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

A chalice and paten, found in a stone coffin, amongst the remains of St. Nicholas' Abbey, Yorkshire.—*Mr. Bruno Bowdon.*

Four ancient chess-men, supposed to be the queen, the alfyn, or bishop, and two pawns, found with numerous vestiges of various periods, in the course of excavations amongst the ruins of Woodperry, Oxfordshire. Also a fragment of the green porphyry or serpentine, highly prized by the ancients, cut into a thin *crusta*, probably to be used in mosaic work, found at the same locality.

The Rev. John Wilson.

A priming-horn, formed of wood, mounted with two silver medallions, representing the Battle of Neusiedel, in 1663, and that of Vienna, in 1683.

Mr. J. M. Kemble.

Three wooden fruit-trenchers, from Gloucestershire, of the time of Elizabeth, curiously painted and guilt. Diam. 5⅛ inches. In the centre of each is inscribed a monitory verse, of which the following is a sample—

> Content yⁱ selfe wᵗʰ thyne estatt :
> And sende noo poore wight from thy gatt
> For why this counceil I the geue :
> To learne to die and die to lyue.

See notices of such trenchers, Archaeol. Journal, Vol. iii., p. 394 ; Journ. of the Archaeol. Assoc., Vol. i., p. 329 ; Catalogue of Archaeol. Museum at the Norwich Meeting, &c.—*Miss Georgiana M. Way.*

A small knife, with a haft of horn, supposed to have been one of the knives given to visitors of Croyland Abbey, on St. Bartholomew's-day. This old custom, abolished by Abbot John de Wisbech (1469—1476), had become a great and idle expense to the monastery : it was in allusion to the knife with which St. Bartholomew was flayed, as Gough states in his History of the Abbey, (Bibl. Topog. Britann., No. xi., p. 73). Mr. Hunter, he observes, had great numbers of them, of different sizes, found in the ruins of the Abbey and in the river. Engravings of these are given by Gough, from drawings in the Minute-books of the Spalding Society ; one with the forge-mark Y. on the blade, inlaid in copper ; another, IHESVS, and the letter R. ; he gives also, an inscription on the silver collet of one, found 1744, in Maurice Johnson's possession. Three knives were quartered with three whips, much used by the Saint, in an heraldic coat (assigned to this Monastery).* The same device appears on the reverse of a town-piece, " The poores halfepeny of Croyland, 1670."—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Two exquisite jewelled ring-fibulæ, found in Ireland. One of them was discovered during the demolition of the old Abbey at Enniscorthy, in 1830.† It is set with emeralds and carbuncles, and bears the inscription, ✠AMES : AMIE AVESM PAR CES PRESET (*sic*). Weight, 99 gr. The other is most elegantly formed with two hands clasping an opal, possibly to represent a heart (?) the inscription being intended to express the Angelical Salutation, AVE MARIA G., so frequently found on mediæval ornaments. Weight, 69 gr. These beautiful brooches were formerly in the Museum of Mr. Anthony, at Piltown, in Ireland, and have been purchased (subsequently to the Lincoln Meeting) for the British Museum.—*Mr. Hawkins.*

An heraldic ornament, intended to be inlaid in some object of metal,—possibly, the centre-piece of a dish or charger. It is a thin disk of copper, chased for enamel, some traces of colour remaining. Diam. 1¾ inches. It bears an impaled coat, a lion rampant impaling crusuly, a crowned lion rampant, gules, (?) queue fourchue. Fifteenth century. The two lions are placed so as to be respectant, or facing one another, which is unusual. Also, a round plate of silver, engraved with representations of theEvangelistic Symbols.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

A magnificent Monstrance, recently brought from the Jesuits' College, at Lucerne, of silver gilt, most elaborately designed, and presenting an unusually choice example of the skill of the German goldsmiths of the fifteenth century.—*Mr. Henry Farrer.*

A candlestick, of latten metal, found near the site of Hevenynges Priory, a mile east of Lea Church, near Gainsborough.—*Sir Charles Anderson, Bart.*

Enamelled tablet, of brass, with sacred subjects in low relief, used as a portable altar-piece by Christians of the Greek Church. It was dredged up, with several others, in the harbour at Grimsby, Lincolnshire, and very probably had been brought over in some Russian or Baltic merchant-ship. A fine triptych, of the same kind, found on the coast near Harwich, is in the possession of Mr. Hooker, of Manningtree, Essex.‡—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

* The seal of Croyland, as given by Reyner and Fuller, engraved also in Tanner's Notitia, bore, quarterly, 1. 4, three St. Bartholomew's knives ; 2. 3, three St. Guthlac's whips.

† Engraved in Dublin Penny Journal, vol. iv., p. 92.

‡ See Archaeol. Journal, vol. vi., p. 182.

A painted triptych, of Greek art, representing the Saviour and several saints. Sixteenth century.—*Mr. A. W. Franks.*

A Manual of Prayers, with a Litany, Almanack, and Kalendar, encased in solid gold, ornamented with enamel. It is supposed to have been presented to Queen Elizabeth by the Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, and worn by that Queen, appended to a chain at her girdle. This remarkable little book is a choice example of the enriched goldsmith's work, in the Italian style, of the period. Its dimensions are, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and one-sixteenth by $1\frac{6}{8}$ inches, the thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. The precious binding is closed by two clasps; each side of the volume has a ring at the top for suspension. On the obverse side is represented, in relief, enamelled, the elevation of the Brazen Serpent, and the following inscription around the verge :—✠ MAKE THE AF(T)YR YE. SERPENT. AN. SETT IT VP. FOR A. SYGNE. THAT AS MANY. AS ARE BYTTE. MAYE LOKE. VPON IT. AN. LYVE. On the reverse is seen the Judgment of Solomon, inscribed,—✠ THEN. THE. KYNG. ANSVERED. AN. SAYD. GYVE HER. THE. LYVYNG. CHILD. AN.SLAY IT NOT. FOR. SHE IS THE MOTHER THEREOF. 3 K. A detailed account of this singular Manual is given in the Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, and in Gent. Mag., Jan. 1791, p. 27. The little volume was printed by Henry Middelton, for Christopher Barker, London, 1574. On the back of the title are these arms,—a lion rampant double queued, within a bordure charged with eight escallops. (Oxenbridge, Hants.) There were two intermarriages between the Oxenbridge and the Tyrwhit families.*

Mr. Henry Farrer.

Some precious specimens of mediæval goldsmith's work, consisting of a pendant jewel, of gold, exquisitely enamelled, in the style of the times of Cellini; an ornament probably intended as a memorial of a deceased relative, and worn pendant to the neck; it is of gold, enamelled, in the form of a diminutive coffin, in which, on being opened, appears a skeleton; it bears English inscriptions, but no name or evidence for whom it was executed. Date, about 1560. Also, a superb baldric of silver, parcel-gilt, and enriched with figures beautifully chased, of German workmanship, date towards the close of the sixteenth century.—*Mr. Farrer.*

A silver pomander, of globular form, so fashioned as to be opened, several interior cells being disposed so as to receive various perfumed pastilles. The exterior is exquisitely chased and enamelled. Date, about 1560.—*Miss Leycester.*

Silver gilt pin, with globular head enriched with filagree; it was dug up on the premises of Mr. Thomas Pratt, of West Walton, near Wisbeach.

Rev. S. Blois Turner.

A watch, in form of a cross, the mechanism enclosed in a case of rock-crystal. A Norwegian Runic almanack, in the form of a walking staff, called in the north of Europe a "primstaf." The symbols indicating saints' days, festivals, occupations of the seasons, &c., are fully explained in a treatise by M. Wolff, entitled, "Runakefli, le Calendrier Runic," Paris, 1820.

Mr. Sampson Hodgkinson.

A watch, or table-clock, supposed to have been in the possession of Louis XIV.; the case is of rock-crystal.—*Mr. J. W. Butterworth.*

A silver table-book and perpetual almanack, of German workmanship. Sixteenth century.—*Mr. Fardell, F. S. A.*

A "Goa-stone," a singular perfumed compound of a metallic nature, brought from the East. This singular aromatic substance, of globular form, was esteemed in Europe, in former times, for supposed medicinal qualities. (See Catalogue of the Museum formed during the Winchester Meeting, p. xlvii.) It is enclosed in a silver case of elegant filagree work, surmounted by a dove.

Mr. Charles Tucker.

* The most particular description of this interesting volume will be found in Gent. Mag., 1791, vol. lxi., p. 27 (by W. H., dated Cheshunt), and in the same volume, p. 321, a fair representation is given of its most costly binding. See also 1790, p. 988.

A coffer of mother of pearl, of the most choice workmanship, chased in very low relief, with designs representing mythological subjects.—*Dr. Charlesworth.*

A beautiful silver peg-tankard and cover, of capacious dimension, with six pegs on the interior side.—*The Right Hon. C. T. d'Eyncourt.*

A wooden peg-tankard, from Norway, showing the use of these drinking vessels, retained in northern Europe in later times.—*Sir Charles Anderson.*

A pint tankard of jacked leather mounted with silver.—*Mr. Richard Carline.*

Two silver spoons, one of them a christening gift: a figure of Hope on the handle.—*Mr. J. Dudding.*

A wooden "wassailing bowl," of the latter part of the sixteenth century.—*Rev. H. Sibthorp.*

A silver ring, supposed to be of the kind termed "cramp-rings," inscribed,—ihs nazaren' rex iudaeor.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

Another silver ring, representing hands conjoined, the hoop inscribed,—ihc * naza * renus. Silver ring, ornamented with three figures of saints. Also an exquisite gold ring, of the fifteenth century, found at Orford Castle, Suffolk. It is engraved with representations of the Trinity, St. Anne with the Virgin Mary, and the *Mater Dolorosa.* (See the annexed Illustrations.)—*Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

Two silver rings, one of them a decade ring, used for numbering prayers, in like manner as telling a string of beads. Sixteenth century.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

A ring in the fashion of a garter, with a buckle, inscribed,—MATER. DEI. MEMENTO. Sixteenth century.—*Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe.*

A cup, formed of the horn of the rhinoceros, ornamented with designs carved in Oriental style. It was found in the river Witham, near Washingborough, three miles east of Lincoln. Drinking-cups of this kind were esteemed in former times, probably on account of some supposed virtues against poison. In the inventory of jewels and plate in the Tower, of which valuation was made in 1649, with cups and beakers of unicorn's horn, is entered, "A rinoceras cupp, graven with figures, with a golden foot;" valued at £12. Archæologia, Vol. xv., p. 282. *Major Ellison.*

A large specimen of the bog-yew, dug out of the Carr, near to the Ancholm River, on the estates of his Grace the Duke of St. Alban's.—*Exhibited by the Duke of St. Alban's.*

A "Gad-whip," one of those which had been used in former years in the strange and profane custom observed as a kind of tenure-service, rendered at Caistor, Lincolnshire. Certain lands in the parish of Broughton, in that county, were held subject to the service of cracking such a whip on Palm Sunday, at the Church of Caistor, during the reading of the lessons. To the whip, which measures in length 5 feet 8 inches, with a heavy lash, 7 feet 9 inches, a purse of leather containing 30 pieces of money was tied, and four pieces of the wych-elm. A memoir on this singular usage, now discontinued, is given in the Archaeol. Journal, Vol. vi., p. 239. See the accompanying representation of a gad-whip, presented to the Institute by Mr. Joseph Moore, of Lincoln.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Another "Gad-whip," a new one being annually provided, and deposited, after rendering the service, in the pew appropriated to the lord of the manor of Hundon.—*Rev. W. B. Pownall.*

The REGALIA of the CORPORATION OF LINCOLN, by kind permission of the Mayor, was displayed in the Museum. It consists of a great silver-gilt mace, of the times of Charles II., measuring about 4 feet 2 inches in length; the handle ornamented with roses and thistles, in allusion to the union with Scotland; and is surmounted by a large globular head (diam. 6 inches), bearing the royal devices embossed in high relief,—the crowned rose, thistle, fleur-de-lys, and harp, each between the initials C. R. The imperial crown, of very bold design, forms the summit; and within the circle of the crown is the royal achievement, in bold relief—C. II. R. On the upper part of the handle is a scutcheon of the city

arms,—a cross, charged with a fleur-de-lys in the centre. An inscription records that the mace was "Beautified in the Mayoralty of William Hayward, 1818." Its weight is about 7 lb. 8 oz.—The state sword is a fine double-handed weapon, the blade possibly as early as the fifteenth century;* the silver-gilt pomel, cross-guard, and mounting of the scabbard, are of later date. It measures, with the scabbard, 4 feet 7¾ inches in length; the scabbard is covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with the rose and crown, and other devices, in silver; also the royal and the city arms, the initials C. L. and R. F. 1818. The pomel exhibits the city arms, "John Kent, Mayor, 1777," on one side, and on the other, "The City of Lincoln, John Kent, Mayor, 1734." Around the edge of the pomel, "John Becket, Esq., Mayor, A.D. 1760." On the cross-guard are the royal arms on one side, with—IESVS EST AMOR MEVS; the city arms on the other—A DEO ET REGE. On the mount of the scabbard is inscribed, "Regilt and new scabbard, Robt. Featherby, Mayor, 1818;" on the other, "Regalia restored, 1845, John Stevenson, Esq., Mayor."

Two maces, one of silver, in length measuring 19 inches, with a globular head encircled by a coronet of fleurs-de-lys and crosses patées alternately. Around the head are scutcheons, charged with the city arms, St. George's cross, and the Irish harp; on the flat top appear the royal arms. Weight, about two pounds. The second is of wood, tipped with silver, and the caps are engraved with the arms of the city and of the see of Lincoln. There were formerly four; customarily carried before the mayor by the serjeants at mace.

The hat or cap of maintenance, usually worn by the sword-bearer when preceding the mayor, is a curious relic of municipal state. It is supposed to have originated in the red hat recorded to have been sent from Rome to the city about the close of the fifteenth century.† It measures 19 inches in diameter, the crown 11 inches, and it is covered with maroon-coloured velvet, the royal arms displayed in front, a great rose on the crown, and the city arms, with the inscription, "M. Sewel, Mayor of the city of Lincoln, 1814." It has long cords and tassels, like a cardinal's hat.—*The Worshipful the Mayor of Lincoln.*

Two swords of state, one distinguished by the name of "The Lent Sword;" the scabbard is covered with black velvet. It was usually carried before the mayor, when he went to church during Lent. The pomel is pear-shaped and octangular, and, as well as the cross-guard, it is elaborately engraved; but having been painted black, the delicate foliated ornament is concealed. The date of this sword appears to be of the earlier part of the fifteenth century.—The other may be of rather earlier age: tradition states that it was presented to the mayor by Richard II., on the occasion of a royal visit to Lincoln. Upon the pomel appear the quarterly bearings of France (*semée* of fleurs-de-lys) and England: on each side of the shield is introduced an ostrich feather: the cross-guard is inscribed thus: IHESVS EST AMOR MEVS A DEO ET REGE. On the mount of the scabbard, which is covered with royal devices, and the initials C. L. (*Civitas Lincolnie?*) is inscribed,—"Thomas Kent, Mayor, Anno Domini, 1685." Length of the sword, 3 feet 8 inches—Also an old cap of maintenance, used in the time of John Kent, Mayor in 1734. In decoration it resembles that already described.

Richard Mason, Esq., Town Clerk of the City of Lincoln.

The silver oar, richly gilt, presented by Queen Elizabeth to the Corporation of Boston, Lincolnshire. On the blade of the oar is the royal arms, France and England quarterly, under an imperial crown, and the initals E. R. The other ornaments of the oar, all of which are in high relief, are, a crown, the arms of the town of Boston, a ship in full sail, the sails charged with three crowns, and an anchor beneath. The assay marks are the leopard's head, the lion passant,

* A cross within a circle, and initial R, are the forge marks, inlaid with gold, on one side of the blade.

† In an old MS. chronicle of the succession of mayors, sheriffs, &c., the entry occurs, "A.D. 1488, a redd hatt was brought from Rome."

and the Roman capital letter K., both on the handle and blade of the oar, indicating the year of its fabrication. (? 1587.) The length of this interesting relic of municipal state in former times, is 39 inches. It was sold, in 1832, by the Town Council of Boston to Francis Thirkell, Esq., and presented by his widow to the Earl Brownlow. By his lordship's kind permission it was exhibited in this museum.

Two silver chains, of very singular design, purchased at the sale of the Corporation plate of the town of Beverley, Yorkshire. These chains used to be worn on occasions of state by the waits, especially when walking in procession before the mayor, at Christmas time. The ornament is composed of the eagle and beaver, the armorial insignia of Beverley.—*Richard Ellison, Esq.*

Three ancient chasubles, of white, red, and purple tissue, exhibiting curious details of embroidery; a white, a red, and a crimson frontal; a maniple; and two embroidered corporas cases. Also, a representation of the Blessed Virgin, in an aureole of glory. Embroidery of the sixteenth century.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

A rich and most curious antependium of crimson velvet, embroidered in gold, supposed to be of the time of Edward I.; two embroidered chasubles, one of purple and crimson velvet, the other of brocade of the same colours; an antependium, formed of white silk and coloured velvet, in alternate stripes, and a band of embroidery for the decorations of the altar, of green velvet worked with gold.—*Bruno Bowdon, Esq., Chesterfield.*

An embroidered cope, now used as a pulpit cloth, in the church of Skenfrith, Monmouthshire, and traditionally designated as "King John's mantle."—*The Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford.*

A frontal of rich damask silk, preserved in the church of Great Campden, Gloucestershire. It is embroidered with flowers: in the centre of the cloth is represented the Virgin Mary, surrounded by a radiated aureole, and supported by angels.—*Rev. C. E. Kennaway, Vicar of Campden.*

A richly embroidered quilt, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.
Lady Anderson.

A coverlid of fine Spanish embroidery, wrought with gold and silk; a work of the seventeenth century.—*Mrs. Humphry Sibthorp.*

A very curious counterpane of linen, chequered in open work and close squares, alternately. Amongst the designs, are figures in the costume of Elizabeth's reign, animals, &c. Near two female figures seated, are the initials M. E.; a scutcheon occurs with a lion passant, also a crowned lion passant, and a crowned swan. This interesting relic of ancient needle-work is supposed to have belonged to the Comberford family, of Staffordshire, and to have descended from them to the Ensors, and subsequently to the family of John Dyer, the poet, whose descendants are now possessed of it. Also an embroidered pouch of elaborate workmanship. —*Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe.*

A curious pair of embroidered gloves, which belonged to Dr. Moore, Physician in Ordinary to Henry IV., King of France, and afterwards Physician to Henry, Prince of Wales.—*The Rev. J. Hamilton Gray.*

The "Stuart Relics," in the possession of the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, Bolsover Castle. They comprise the following interesting objects:—

Queen Mary's watch, made by Etienne Hubert, of Rouen; its case is of gold filagree. Presented by Mary to Margaret, Marchioness of Hamilton, daughter of Lord Glamis. It remained as an heir-loom of the Hamilton family, until the Duchess of Hamilton, wife of William, the second duke, gave it to her daughter, Lady Margaret, on her marriage with William Blair, of Blair; and it continued in possession of that family till the marriage of Janet Blair with Mr. Tait, clerk of session in Edinburgh. It was given by her to her niece, Catherine, daughter of Sir — Sinclair, Bart., of Munkle; who, in 1823, transferred it to Mrs. Maddrop, of Dalmarnock; by whom it was presented to her nephew, Mr. Hamilton Gray. Another watch, made by Etienne Hubert, is preserved in Scotland, stated to have been given by Mary to John Knox. It is in the posses-

sion of his descendant, Mr. Thomson, of Bauchory : it is of larger size than that now described, but the mechanism is similar. (See App. to Life of Knox, by Dr. Mac Cree.)—Relics of Prince Charles Edward : his pistols, of large size, massively mounted with silver. They were given by him, after the expedition of 1745, to Edgar, the confidential secretary of James III., and, on his death, descended to his relative, Mr. Edgar, of Glasgow ; by whom they were sold, and thus came into Mr. Gray's possession. He purchased also a ring, set with an intaglio, a portrait of Mary on white cornelian, formerly the property of James III. and the Cardinal York, and which had been presented to Mr. Edgar.—Miniature of Prince Charles Edward, by a German artist, named Kamm, painted during his residence in Germany, after the expedition in 1745. Purchased in Rome, by James Dennistoun, Esq., with an original portrait of the Cardinal, Duke of York, painted in early youth, and formerly in the Villa Muti at Frascati, his residence as Bishop of that see ; whence it came into Mr. Dennistoun's possession.—The episcopal mitre of the Cardinal, as Bishop of Frascati, in a red morocco case, ornamented with the royal arms of England, under a cardinal's hat ; also his *berretto*, or cardinal's cap. These relics had been preserved by the Marchese di Malatesta, heir of the prince's secretary, and by him were sold to Mr. Dennistoun, who sold them to Mr. H. Gray.—A bronze medal of Cardinal York, also from the Palazzo Muti, presented to Mr. H. Gray by the Hon. Henrietta Otway Cave.—A large map of Charles Edward's expedition in 1745, in eight sheets, engraved in Rome for James III. Four of these maps existed, in the possession of James, Charles Edward, and the Cardinal, and were preserved by the Marchese di Malatesta, who sold them to the head of the Scottish College, to the Marquis of Douglas, Lord Walpole, and Mr. Dennistoun.—*The Rev. John Hamilton Gray.*

CARVINGS IN IVORY, &c.

A Roundel, of ivory or the tooth of the walrus, found at Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire. It is sculptured very curiously, representing men in conflict with wyverns or dragons. Diameter, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches ; thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. It was possibly intended to be used as a piece for the game of tables, being not dissimilar to those used for draughts in modern times. (See Woodcuts.) Similar roundels exist in the Ashmolean Museum.—*The Venerable the Archdeacon of Lincoln.*

An "oliphant," or warder's horn of state, of ivory, elaborately sculptured with figures of men, subjects of the chase, or conflicts with animals, &c., and elegant foliated ornament. Some of the details partake of an Oriental character, but it is possibly of Scandinavian workmanship. It had been long preserved by the Clan Clephane as an heirloom, and is now deposited at Castle Ashby. An account and representation of this horn is given by Sir Walter Scott, in the "Border Antiquities."—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

An exquisite specimen of sculptured ivory, representing the Death and the Coronation of the Virgin ; apparently the central portion of a triptych.

Bruno Bowdon, Esq.

Tablet of sculptured ivory, representing twelve subjects from the Passion of our Saviour ; it is probably of French workmanship ; date about 1420.

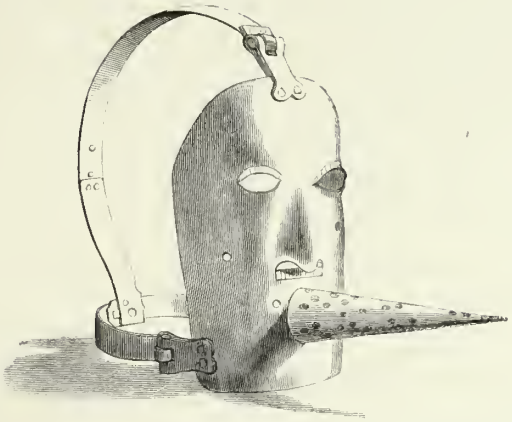
Dr. Charlesworth.

One of the covers of a table-book, or set of waxed tablets, frequently used in mediæval times, for writing with a "pointel," or *stylus* ; French workmanship, fifteenth century.—*Rev. W. M. Pierce.*

Two beautiful carvings in ivory, of the sixteenth century, one of them representing St. Jerome in the desert.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols.*

A candlestick of ivory, carved with the most exquisite delicacy of workmanship. Supposed to be of Italian fabrication ; sixteenth century.

Richard Ellison, Esq., Sudbrooke Holme.



Iron branks, or head-piece, and gag for the discipline of incorrigible scolds

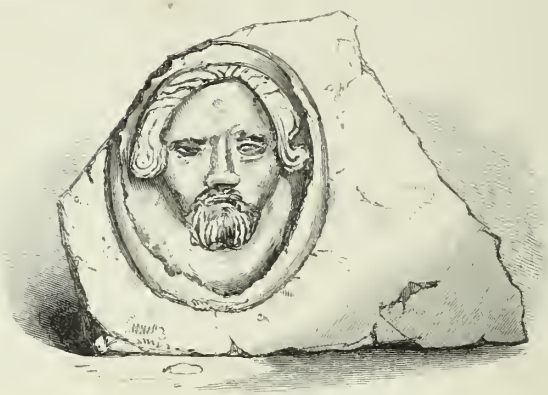
Exhibited by Col. Jarvis, of Doddington. (Catal. of Lincoln Museum, p. xxxv.)

Roundel of ivory, or horn of the walrus, found at Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire. Orig. size.

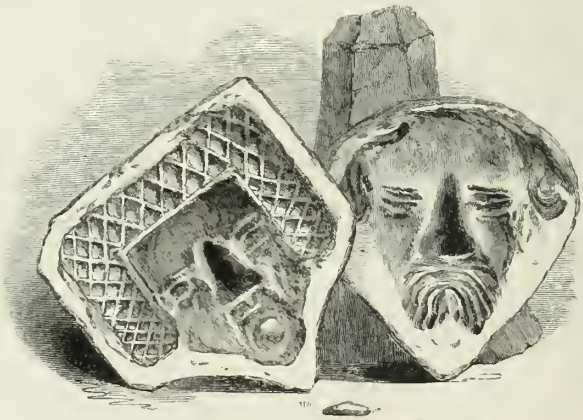
Exhibited by the Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln. (Catal., p. xlii.)

EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATIVE OF FICTILE MANUFACTURES, AT LINCOLN.

Exhibited by Arthur Trollope, Esq.



Fragment of green-glazed ware, XIVth Cent., with moulded ornament



Stamps, for moulding ornaments for vessels of glazed ware
Found near a potter's kiln, at Lincoln.

Hand-brick, or clump of terra-cotta, found with pottery on the coast of Lincolnshire.

(Half-length of orig. Catal. of Museum, p. xliii.)

MEDIÆVAL POTTERY, DECORATIVE TILES, &c.

AN extensive and highly curious assemblage of specimens illustrative of the fictile manufactures of mediæval times, wholly collected in and near Lincoln, during the excavations carried on in 1847-8. The early examples of green-glazed ware were especially deserving of careful examination, and their grotesque ornaments occasionally afford decisive evidence of date. With the exception of the collection placed in the York Museum, not yet fully classified, no series of examples had been hitherto formed to show the processes of this branch of mediæval manufacture, and the various forms of the household vessels used by our forefathers, of which a striking variety were here exhibited. The unique stamps with which ornaments in relief were affixed to these *fictilia*, are highly curious ; and the design, as well as the square head-dress of the reign of Edward III., sufficiently prove their age. These implements of the Lincoln potters, in the fourteenth century, were discovered near an ancient kiln for firing the glazed ware, in the parish of St. Mary le Wigford, Lincoln. (See the annexed Illustrations.)—*Mr. Arthur Trollope.*

A good example of mediæval green-glazed ware : a jug, the front ornamented with a large leaf. Found in Lincoln ; fifteenth century.—*Mr. John Fardell.*

Two mediæval vessels, found in North Lincolnshire.—*Miss Ellen Slater.*

A collection of decorative pavement-tiles, found during recent excavations at Beaulieu Abbey, Hants.—*The Rev. F. Baker.*

A decorative pavement-tile, of large dimensions, found in Somersetshire, representing a mounted knight; fourteenth century. *Mr. C. Tucker.*

A singular ridge-tile, found in Lincoln, surmounted by a grotesque head, intended to serve as part of a decorative crest, along the ridge of a roof. It is faced with brown glaze. (See woodcut, Parker's Gloss. of Archit., 5th edit., p. 389.)—*Mr. T. M. Keyworth.*

A "hand-brick," stated to have been found in the foundations of an ancient church, now covered by the sea, near Wainfleet, Lincolnshire, where it is believed that considerable encroachment on the shore has taken place. These singular relics are found in abundance on the coast near Ingoldmells, in the beds of black mud off the shore, or washed up after gales of wind. They are rudely-shaped cylinders of baked clay, bearing the impress of the grasp of the fingers, and mostly formed by the *left* hand.* They are about four inches in length, diameter 1½ to 2½ inches. (See the Illustrations.) Fragments of pottery, of uncertain date, are occasionally found with them. There is an ancient earth-work in the neighbourhood, called the "Roman Bank." Objects precisely similar have been found by Mr. Lukis in Guernsey. (Archaeol. Journal, vol. vi., pp. 70, 175.)—*Rev. J. B. Reynardson.*

MEDIÆVAL INSCRIPTIONS, ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, AUTOGRAPHS, AND MANUSCRIPTS.

AN original of the Great Charter of Liberties, granted by King John, in the seventeenth year of his reign, preserved in a perfect state, and apparently of superior authority to either of the two charters in the British Museum. From the contemporary indorsements of the word *Lincolnia*, this may be presumed to be

* A specimen has been since added to the Collections of the Institute, by the kindness of Mr. W. A. Nicholson, of Lincoln. It is represented in the annexed Illustrations.

the charter transmitted by the hands of Hugh, then Bishop of Lincoln, one of the prelates named in the introductory clause.*—*The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.*

A facsimile engraving of the aforesaid charter of 17 John, preserved at Lincoln. Presented to the Library of the Institute.—*Mr. S. Paddison.*

A cruciform leaden plate, found in a stone coffin, on the S. E. side of the Minster Close, at Lincoln, in 1847. Dimensions, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. On one side is inscribed, transversely, the following memorial: CORPVS : SIFORDI : PRESBITERI : SCE : ELENE : ET SCE MARGARETE TITVLATVS HIC IACET. The forms of the letters appear to indicate the latter part of the tenth or early eleventh century, as the age of this curious relic. (See the Illustrations.) On the reverse is an inscription in minuscules, now illegible, carried across the plate in both directions, covering all the limbs of the cross. Sepulchral plates of lead have rarely been found in England. A considerable number of cruciform plates were discovered in the graves of the Bishops of Metz, as represented in the history of that city.—*The Venerable the Archdeacon of Lincoln.*

Inscribed leaden plate, discovered, about 1670, near the north door of the choir in Lincoln Minster, in the grave adjacent to the tomb of Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, founder of the cathedral. It commemorates William, son of Walter de Aincourt, or Deincourt, who held large estates in Lincolnshire, as appears by Domesday Book. This remarkable relic of the eleventh century measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{3}{4}$. The inscription was printed by Dugdale (Baronage, vol. i. p. 386.)† Some parts are now much decayed. It may be thus read: ✠ HIC IACET WI(LL') FILI' WALT'I AIENCVR(IEN)SIS C'SANGVINEI REMIGII EP'I LICOL'IENSIS Q' HANC ECCL'AM FECIT P'FAT' WILL'M' REGIA STYRPE P'GENIT' DV̄ I̅ CVRIA REGIS WILL' FILII MAGNI REGIS WILL' Q' ANGLIA C'Q'SIVIT ALERET' III. CAL. NOV̄M OBIIT. A Memoir on this curious relic, now preserved in the Chapter Library, has been contributed to this volume by the Right Hon. C. d'Eyncourt (see page 248), accompanied by an accurate facsimile of the plate.—*The Rev. the Precentor of Lincoln.*

Registers of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, at Louth, from the year 1473 to 1528, and an original book of accounts of the expenses incurred in the Spanish wars, in the reign of Henry VIII.—*The Lord Monson.*

The "Order of Swans," an original book of swan marks, a very curious MS. of the sixteenth century. See the Memoir in this volume, p. 215.

Mr. E. A. Bromehead, Lincoln.

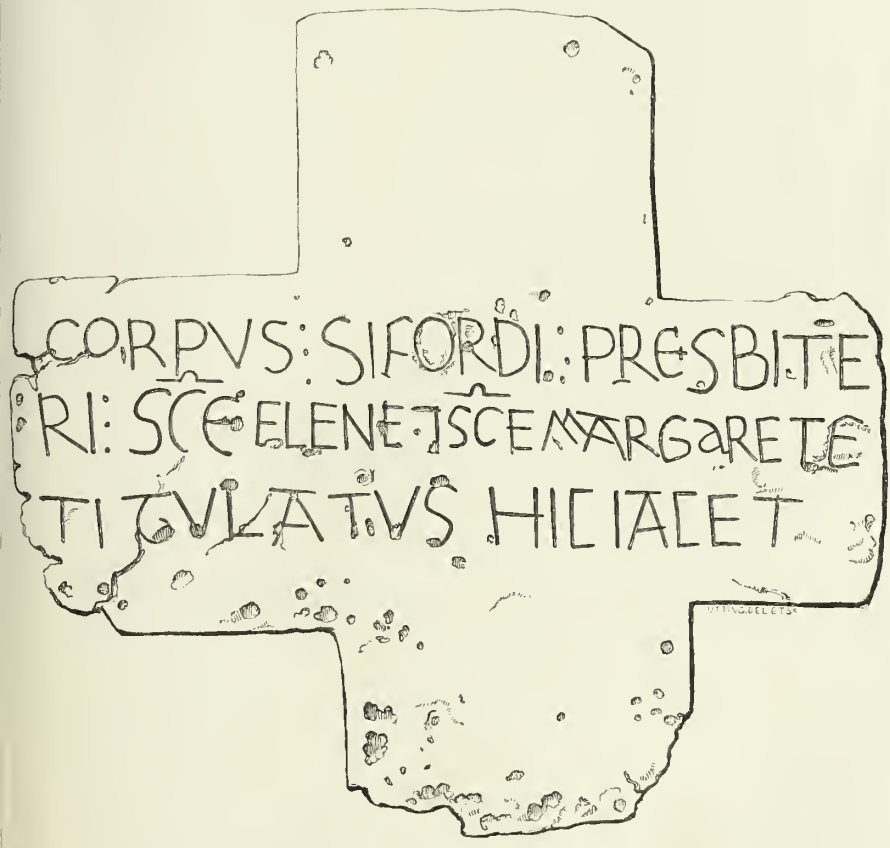
Five volumes of Minute Books of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding, the earliest provincial Antiquarian society instituted in Great Britain, and comprising a minute record of their researches and of communications received from the most eminent archæologists of the last century. They commence in 1710.—*The Rev. William Moore, D.D., President of the Spalding Society.*

The pocket-book and autobiographical memorials of the learned Lincolnshire antiquary, Dr. Stukeley; two volumes of a series in his own hand-writing, comprising notices of his own literary labours, and of his contemporaries. Some curious Extracts are appended to this Catalogue.—*John Britton, Esq., F.S.A.*

Seven manuscripts, service-books, &c., consisting of the Treatise of Julian of Toledo, "De origine mortis humanæ," MS. of the twelfth century; the Commentary of Origen on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, a MS. of the same period; the Biblical Commentaries of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, a very rare MS. of the thirteenth century; a MS. Psalter of the fourteenth century, believed to have been one of the service-books of Lincoln Cathedral before the Reformation; this interesting volume was, in 1561, in the possession of Sir Robert Hare; a MS. of the Vulgate, of the early part of the fourteenth century; a MS. service-book, in the old Flemish dialect of the fifteenth century;

* See the Appendix to First General Report from the Commissioners on Records, p. 97.

† See also Archæologia, vol. i., p. 31; vol. ii., p. 188. The plate is represented in Hearne's Pref. to Trivet's Annals, and Gough's Camden, vol. ii., pl. vi.; Sepulchral Mon., vol. i., p. 49; vol. ii., p. 232, pl. xiv; Pegge's Sylloge, No. 17; and in this volume, p. 248.



Inscribed Leaden Plate, found in a stone coffin, in the Minster Close, Lincoln.
(Orig. size. Museum Catal. p. xliv.)

Exhibited by the Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln.

and a service-book of the same period, written in Italy.—*Mr. Sampson Hodgkinson.*

A service-book, beautifully illuminated throughout, a valuable example of Flemish art. Date, about 1450. It formerly belonged to the family of Matthew Beiland, of Breda.—*Richard Ellison, Esq.*

Document, dated A.D. 1163; being a deed of Roger Trehampton, of Lea, near Gainsborough, confirming the grant, by Ralph, his father, of land in Bole Ferry, in the parish of Lea, to Revesby Abbey; executed and witnessed in the house of Ranulf, Sub-Dean of Lincoln. (Not noticed in the Monasticon.) Also several charters relating to Sherwood Forest.—*Sir Charles Anderson, Bart.*

Deed of conveyance, by Richard Bullock to John Barker, of a messuage, &c., at Barnsley, Yorkshire, dated 13 Edw. III., 1340.—*Rev. C. B. Pownall.*

Transcript of Sir William Dugdale's survey of the monuments in Lincoln Minster, dated Sept., 1641; copied by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Lincoln, in 1815, from the original MS. preserved in the possession of the Hatton family, now in the library of the Earl of Winchilsea, at Eastwell Park, Ashford, Kent.* It contains views of many interesting memorials now destroyed, especially the "feretrum S. Hugonis ala australi;" the tomb and brass effigy of Queen Eleanor, in the Lady Chapel; a "feretrum" in the same part of the Minster, and a remarkable series of sepulchral brasses, now lost. This transcript was presented, in 1845, by Dr. Bonney, to the library of the Dean and Chapter.—*The Venerable the Archdeacon of Lincoln.*

Facsimiles of some of the Records of the Knights of Malta, preserved in the library at Valetta, comprising entries relating to several Lincolnshire families, and a notice of Temple Bruere.—*The Rev. F. C. Massingberd.*

Two documents, bearing the sign-manual of Oliver Cromwell, as Protector, in 1656. Also a commission, as Captain of Dragoons, signed by James II., to Colonel Thomas Pownall, who, as High Sheriff of the county, entertained King William III. on his visit to Lincoln, in 1695.—*Rev. T. B. Pownall.*

Grant of arms to Robert Lee, of Quarndon, Bucks, Gentleman-Usher to Henry VIII., from Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King-at-Arms, and Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux, with their official seals appended. Dated, 18 April, 1513.
Mr. W. J. Thoms.

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS, SIGNET RINGS, &c.

SEALS of Christ's Hospital, and of the Gild of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Lincoln. The former is a small circular seal, bearing a cross moline,—IESUS * CHRIST * HOSPITALL * L'. The seal of the gild is a rudely engraved circular matrix, diameter $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches, a scutcheon in the centre charged with a cross humetty, between four fleurs-de-lys, and a fifth on the centre of the cross. At the sides, the initials, ꝑ. ℑ (?); the legend, ✠ sigillu gilde exaltacio'is s'c crucis. Also a small circular seal exhibiting an embattled gate tower, over which is a peacock displayed, the initials C. P. at the sides of the tower, and, underneath, LINC.—*Mr. Carline.*

Matrix found at Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, the seal of John Copuldyke. The design exhibits a scutcheon suspended on a tree, quarterly, 1st and 4th, a chevron between three cross-crosslets, 2nd and 3rd lozengy, an ermine spot on every alternate lozenge. The family were settled at Harrington, Lincolnshire. : sigillum : iohannis : copuldyk : Date, early xvth century.—*Mr. Weston Cracroft.*

* Browne Willis, in his Survey of the Cathedral, p. 4, describes this MS. in Lord Hatton's library, and also cites a MS. of Bp. Sanderson's, giving from it a list of the monuments of "which draughts were taken, Anno 1641," Sept. 10, forty-four in number; and he concludes by comparison of these MSS., that Bp. Sanderson attended Dugdale, and that they assisted each other in copying the epitaphs.

Sulphur cast from the curious circular matrix found near Boston, Lincolnshire. The device is a knight, wholly armed in mail, combating a lion; on his shield is a lion rampant; the background appears to represent a forest. Diameter, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. * OLA : GARDEZ . BEL . AMI . TROP . FORT . BATAILLE . I . A . CI : Thirteenth century.* The original, of iron, belongs to the Rev. J. Tunnard, of Boston. Engraved in Thompson's Hist. of Boston, p. 215.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Impression of a small circular seal, found at Higham Ferrers. Device, a lion couchant. * S' HENRICI CHAVCER. Date fourteenth century.—*Mr. E. Richardson.*

Small bronze seal found at Latton Priory, Essex. Device, two arms couped above the wrist, the hands conjoined. * LEL AMI AVET.—*Mr. William Stellibrass.*

Matrix; of pointed-oval form, the seal of the Archdeacon of Colchester. A cross-church, with central tower; around the verge: * SIGILLVM * ARCHIDIACONI * ARCHIDIACONATVS * COLCESTRIÆ. Dimensions, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 inches Sixteenth century. Also a collection of impressions in gutta percha (presented to the Institute), from seals attached to deeds, comprising the seal of Agnes, daughter of Walter Austin (not dated) a fleur-de-lis, xiiith cent.;—seal of the Benedictine Nunnery of Bungay, Suffolk, from a deed dated 33 Edw. III. (Mon. Ang. new ed. vol. iv., p. 337; it is engraved in Gent.'s Mag., May, 1810);—seal of Katharine de Brewes, 48 Edw. III., inscribed, Virgine : prier : pur : katerine;—seal of William Bardolf, lord of Wyrmegey, 6 Rich. II.;—seals of William de Clopton, and his wife, 8 Rich. II.; seals of Roger le Boys, Thomas Plays, Robert Howard, and Edmund Thorp, 11 Rich. II.; common seal of Mettingham College, Suffolk, the matrix made in 1405-6 (see woodcuts);—seal "domine iohanne Swillington," 4 Hen. VI.;—and the seal of Robert Chapman, 27 Hen. VIII.

The Rev. C. R. Manning.

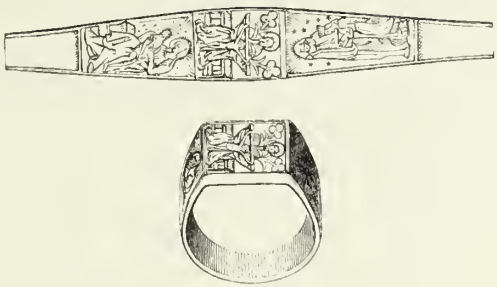
A collection of brass matrices, from the museum of Mr. Whincopp, comprising the following: A fine seal, pointed oval, date about 1250, representing a design of tabernacle work in two stages; above, the Virgin and child, with two angels; beneath, a tonsured personage kneeling before St. George; S' MAG'RI . WILLELMI . DAREL: Two other seals of ecclesiastics, of like form, of rather later date. Circular seal, representing a man in secular costume, with a falcon on his fist, and a bird's gamb as a lure, in his right hand; * S' IOHANNIS FRAVNCEIS. Circular seal, representing an embattled gateway, the portcullis raised; in the gate, a scutcheon of arms, charged with three chevrons (Clare?). At the sides, the initials t . b . fourteenth century. Circular seal, representing the Virgin and Child, * AVE MARIA GRACIA. A singular seal, apparently of the Commonalty of Romney Marsh: it represents a church, with a central spire, between figures of St. Peter and St. Paul,† and, beneath, an escutcheon, quarterly,—France and England; dated 1568 (above the church;) : SIGILLVM . COMMVNE . MARISCVM . DERVMNE. Of circular form; diameter, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The common seal now in use, of which a representation is given by Mr. Holloway, in his "History of Romney Marsh," bears a church, under a three-masted ship; it is dated 1665. The charter of incorporation bears date 1461, but no seal of that period is known to exist.

Mr. Whincopp.

Impression of a pointed-oval seal, the bronze matrix stated to have been found, at a depth of seven feet, in the tumular cemetery of Saxon times, at Lamel Hill, near York, as related in the Archaeological Journal, vol. vi. p. 35. The inscription is, ✠ S' COMVNE : C'TODI CAPELLE . B'E MARIE DE NORT' FOLLIOT: or possibly MORT' FOLLIOT. Castle Morton, in Worcestershire, was anciently known as Morton Folliot, and a chapel existed there which appears to have been connected

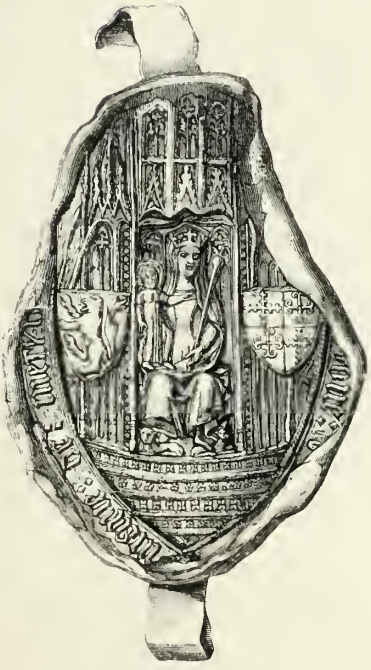
* A curious seal-ring of the same period, and bearing the device of the combat with a lion, was in the possession of Sir Richard Worsley, and is figured in the Archæologia, vol. iii., p. 176, pl. xix. See also vol. viii., p. 321; vol. xxiii., p. 387; and the fine seal of Roger de Quinci, Constable of Scotland, given in the Notes on Spelman, in Upton, p. 105.

† The church of Newchurch, in Romney Marsh, one of the places of assembly of the Bailiff and Commonalty, is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.



Gold ring, found at Orford Castle, Suffolk.

Exhibited by the Rev. S. Blois Turner. (Catal., p. xxxix.)



Seal of the Chantry of Methingham, Suffolk.

From an impression exhibited by the Rev. C. R. Manning. (Catal., p. xlvi.)

Seal of the Chapel of the Virgin, Morton Folliot, Worcestershire.

Matrix found in Lamel Hill, York. Exhibited by Dr. Thurnam. (Catal., p. xlvi.)

with the Church of Longdon, Gloucestershire, part of the possessions of the monastery of Westminster.* It is difficult to explain how the seal of the Custos of this chapel, in a remote county, could have been deposited in Lamel Hill. It has been conjectured that it might have been conveyed thither at the time of the siege of York, during the Civil Wars, some disturbance of the Hill having apparently occurred at that time (See Woodcuts).—*John Thurnam, Esq., M.D.*

Impressions of the seals of the Gild of the Annunciation, and of the Gild of St. Clement, at Berkhamstead, Herts.—*Mr. J. M. Kemble.*

Matrices and impressions of seals, relating to the northern counties, and comprising a brass circular seal, described as that of the farrier of the see of Durham; device, a horse-shoe, with hammer and two nails; ✠ S' RADVL' MARESCHAL . D' LEVECHIE D'VROM; diameter, 1 inch; fourteenth century; found near Darlington. Casts of the corporation seals of Hartlepool. Brass seal of the Ogle family, of Northumberland; bearing a quarterly coat, 1st and 4th, a fesse between three crescents, *Ogle*, 2nd and 3rd, an orle, *Bertram;* † crest, a bull's head, ducally gorged; diameter, 1⅝ inches; date, about 1600. Impressions from a small oval seal of a monk, or official, of Arbroath Abbey, N. Britain; it represents St. Thomas the Martyr, in whose honour that monastery was founded, and beneath is a kneeling figure; S' F' W. MATH'I‡ MONAC . D ABERBROTHOT. Such a seal, found in the ruins of Arbroath, is now in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. It is figured in Gent. Mag., Nov. 1802, p. 993. Impressions from a seal found in demolishing Old London Bridge; it is in the form of a scutcheon, the device a stag's head, a cross between the attires; on a chief some letters, not explained; fifteenth century. A burlesque seal; device, a purveyor monk returning to the convent-gate; on his shoulders a sheaf of wheat, which, by a pair of legs hanging therefrom evidently conceals some *fruit defendu*. Seals, with this device, sometimes bear the inscription, *Pain au couvent.—Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe.*

Facsimiles, by electrotype, from the seal affixed to an indenture, dated 1326, between Thomas de Appilgarth and the burgesses of Richmond, Yorkshire. The parties interchangeably set their seals thereto, and this deed being in the custody of the town authorities, the seal was probably that used by the former.

Mr. W. Hedley.

Brass matrix of the seal of Peter, Bishop of Monte Marano, in the Neapolitan states. It was discovered, about 1817, in the moat of a pleasance, or embanked garden of the old fashion, at Penley Hall, Flintshire. The form is pointed-oval; in the centre, the Annunciation, beneath is a bishop kneeling, and two escutcheons of arms, probably those of the see, and the personal bearing of the prelate; S . PETRI . DEI . GRA . EPI . MONTIS . MARANI. According to Ughelli, the only bishop of this see named Peter, lived in the time of Benedict XII., and was translated in 1345.—*Mr. John Carline, of Shrewsbury.*

A fine Italian seal of the fifteenth century; form, pointed-oval; it represents the Trinity, the Supreme Being supporting a crucifix, and seated under a rich canopy of shrine-work. In a small niche (below,) a small kneeling figure of an archbishop, St. Thomas of Canterbury; S' frat'nitat' hospitalis . sancti . thome mart'is i'roma.§ Matrix discovered at Botesdale, and formerly in the possession of Mrs. Pallant. Also, three other matrices; one found at Leiston Abbey, Suffolk; S' RICARDI . P'ORIS . DE . ME . MAGDALENE; the prior is represented kneeling before a crucifix. It was probably the seal of Richard Dunmowe, 1475.

The Rev. S. Blois Turner.

* See Nash, Hist. Worc., vol. ii., pp. 107, 114.

† Sir Robert Ogle, of Ogle Castle, *t.* Edw. III., espoused Helen, d. and h. of Sir Robert Bertram, of Bothall.

‡ Or MATIA (?).

§ Two other seals of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, at Rome, have been found, and were formerly in Gale's collection. One bears the legend—Sigillum procuratorum Hospitalis s'ti Thome martyris in Roma; the other—S. ad Causas Hospitalis S. Thome Mart. in Roma. Beneath, the arms of France and England, quarterly.

A seal, of pointed-oval form, of jet, preserved in a collection of miscellaneous relics of antiquity, at Diss, Norfolk. It is engraved on both sides, the central device being the knop of expanding leaves, not unfrequently found on early seals, possibly intended to represent a fleur-de-lys. One side, much effaced, appears to be of much later design than the other. That best preserved bears the legend, ✠ TECTA . TEGE . LECTA LEGE. Dimensions about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{9}{10}$.*

The Rev. C. R. Manning.

Another seal, of jet, of the same form and date, found in opening a stone quarry in St. Peter's parish, near the East-gate, at Lincoln. On one side is engraved a representation, rudely designed, of the Virgin and Child; ✠ AVE : MARIA : GRACIA PLENA. On the other, somewhat defaced, appears a human head tonsured (?), a flaming star above, and a crescent beneath; ✠ OCVLI : MEI : SEMP' : AD DOMINVM. It is formed with a perforation at the upper end, for suspension. This very curious matrix may be assigned to the twelfth century.—*Mr. Way.*

Impressions of the unique seal of Southwick Priory, Hants, so formed as to exhibit figures, &c., appearing through apertures in the architectural design. See Archæologia, vol. xxiii., pl. 32.—*Rev. Edwin Jarvis.*

Impressions from the seals of the Church of Lichfield, and that of Milo of Gloucester, created Earl of Hereford, in 1140. This matrix was found at Ludgershall, Wilts. Archæologia, vol. xiv. pl. 47.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols.*

Impression of the seal of Sir William Clifford, Knt.—*Mr. Porteus Oakes.*

A massive gold ring, found at Lincoln, the impress being the initial W. Fifteenth century. (?)—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

A gold ring of most beautiful workmanship, bearing the device of the bear and baton ragulé, with the motto inscribed above—**Soulement bne.** Around the hoop are the words—**be goddis fayre foot**: this singular legend has been supposed to have reference to the miraculous impress of the Saviour's feet on the Mount of Olives, which was regarded by pilgrims with extreme reverence, and, like the five wounds, was probably used as a symbol of talismanic virtue. This ring, formerly in the possession of George IV., now belongs to General Johnson. Weight, 230 gr. Compare a silver ring communicated to the Institute by the Hon. James Talbot. Archaeological Journal, vol. ii., p. 78.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

Brass signet ring, found in the Cathedral Close, at Hereford. The impress is a kind of merchant's mark, a cross, with the lower extremity barbed like an arrow, between the initials, G. M.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

A set of five small seals, attached to a hoop of brass, like a wheel, the inner side of the hoop thus inscribed—* VPRIGHTLY * DEALE. The sixth seal lost. Devices, a lion rampant, a barrel with a branch issuing from it, a lion's or dragon's head, &c. Sixteenth century.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

Two brass signet-rings, found in the Thames, on one of them the device of the bear and ragged staff; on the other, a monogram or cypher.—*Mr. Whincopp.*

PAINTINGS, AND WORKS OF SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURAL DECORATIONS, SEPULCHRAL BRASSES, &c.

A remarkable painting, a sacred subject, of the Early Flemish School, formerly in the possession of Lord Newburgh, and given to the Rev. Mr. Bostock, Roman Catholic priest at Leicester. It exhibits the brilliant colouring and high finish of the works of the early part of the sixteenth century, and it has been attributed to Lucas Van Leyden.—*Richard Ellison, Esq.*

* See notices of jet seals, Catalogue of Museum of Institute at York, p. 23; Archaeol. Journal, vol. vi., p. 405.

Design by Holbein for a clock-stand. From the Strawberry Hill Collection.
Mr. E. Graves.

Several paintings, of much interest as illustrative of the appearance of the city of Lincoln and its architectural monuments in former times. They represent the Newport Arch ; a view of the city from Brayford or from Swanpool (on which the Corporation kept swans) ; a south-west view of the Minster, with the spires on the western towers, which were taken down in 1808, and before the ornamental parapet had been placed by Essex on the great tower ; also, a south view of the Minster, and two views of the east end and Chapter House.
John Fardell, Esq., F.S.A.

Elevation of the south Transept of Lincoln Minster.
Mr. Willson, the Bail, Lincoln.

Oil painting, a view of Lincoln, taken in the last century. Two coloured drawings, one representing a scene in Lincoln, and a view of Louth.
Messrs. W. and B. Brooke, High Street.

A Collection of Drawings and Engravings, illustrative of the antiquities of Lincoln, Louth, Croyland Abbey, and various Lincolnshire churches.—Also, Fowler's tessellated pavements and painted glass, chiefly in the same county.
The Lincoln Permanent Library.

East view of Lincoln Minster, and the part of the Close on that side, as it appeared about the year 1770. An unfinished painting in oil, by Governor Pownall, F.S.A.—Also, a coloured drawing (to scale) taken by Mrs. Ellen Carter, of Lincoln, in 1794, and sent to Governor Pownall. It represents the tessellated pavement in the Cloister Court of Lincoln Minster, as it appeared when first discovered in June, 1793.—Coloured plate of the fine tessellated pavement, discovered at Winterton, Lincolnshire, in 1747.—Representation of the Cross, erected at Geddington, in memory of Queen Eleanor.—Copies of inscriptions found on top-stone of the spire of Louth Church, Lincolnshire, as taken during the repairs in 1824.—*Rev. C. Beatty Pownall.*

Drawings representing the Old Deanery, at Lincoln, with its interesting gateway tower, demolished in 1847 (see page 291), and some parts of the Minster, illustrative of the peculiarities of that structure.
The Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln.

A painting, representing St. Giles' Church, Lincoln, in its former and more perfect state ; and a drawing of Kirk's House in Lincoln.—*Mr. Carline.*

Selection of interesting drawings, illustrative of Lincolnshire, consisting of a south-east view of Lincoln Minster, taken in 1799 ; north-east view of Southwell Minster and Chapter-house, with a north-west view of that fine Church, 1809 ; the Church and Bridge at Boston, 1807 ; north-east view of Grantham Church, 1811 ; north-east view of Newark Church ; north-west view of Belton Church, and a view of Belton House, 1817 ; view of the singular late Norman Font at Belton Church, and detailed representations of the eight subjects sculptured on its sides, amongst which appear figures of a bishop and ecclesiastics, an acolyte ringing the bells,* &c.—*John Buckler, Esq., F.S.A.*

A collection of drawings, comprising a very interesting and instructive series of Early British Remains and "Druidical" Monuments, Stone-circles, Cromlechs, &c., existing in Wiltshire, Cornwall, Wales, and other parts of the kingdom.—Also, several Illustrations of Architectural Antiquities, views of Hengrave Hall, the Abbey Church, and Market Cross at Malmsbury, the eastern side of York Minster, and other interesting examples.—*John Britton, Esq., F.S.A.*

A collection of original drawings by the old masters, Polidoro, Carlo Maratti, Albani, &c. They were brought from Italy by Dyer, the poet.
Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe.

A collection of valuable drawings, thirty-five in number, by William and

* See an engraving in Simpson's Baptismal Fonts.

T. Espin, chiefly illustrative of the Architectural Monuments of Lincolnshire. They consisted of views of Newport, the striking Roman Gateway on the north side of Lincoln; the Entrance to the Chapter House, and exterior view of that building, with Sketches of other portions of the Minster; views of Thornton Abbey; several views of Southwell, the Chapter-house and ancient Palace; Tupholm Priory, representing the Refectory as it appeared in 1813; Legbourn Abbey Church; Bullington Abbey, a fragment of a wall, almost the only remaining vestige; Beleau Abbey; an exterior north view of Croyland, and interior view (now the parish church); the remains of the Chancel of Louth Park Abbey Church; south and west Doors of Stow Church; the Bishop's Bridge, near Spittle; the ancient Churches of Alverington, Cockerington, Clee, and Saxelby, with representations of several fonts (at Croyland, Leasingham, Maltby le Marsh, and Covenham), and sepulchral effigies and monuments in Southwell Minster, &c.; the figures, at Saxleby, of a knight and lady, *t.* Ric. II. (the arms on his jupon, three fusils in fesse), and an effigy at Alvingham.—Also, the curious oak chest in Louth Church, sculptured with royal heads, rose and crown, &c.; and the seals of Louth Abbey and School.—*Mr. S. Paddison, Lincoln.*

View of Caythorp Church, Lincolnshire —*Rev. J. L. Petit.*

View of Southwell Chapter-house.—*Mr. W. Brooke.*

Drawings, representing the proposed restoration of the Gateway of the White Friars' Monastery at Stamford, with a ground plan and model in stone, of this interesting example of mediæval architecture.—*Mr. W. Hopkinson, Stamford.*

Drawing, by Mr. Cottingham, representing a curious processional cross, discovered in the church-yard at West Farleigh, Kent, and now in the possession of the Dean of Rochester; also a processional cross, recently found deposited, probably for concealment at the Reformation, in one of the "pockets" of the groining of the tower at Hereford Cathedral.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Ancient portraits on panel of Henry IV., Edward IV., and Henry VII. The latter from the Collection of the Rev. T. Howson.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Two miniatures, of exquisite execution, by Mr. Henry Shaw, being copies from the original portrait of Queen Mary, by Lucas de Heere, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London; and the original portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, in the collection of Patrick Frazer Tytler, Esq.—*Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A.*

A collection of exquisite miniature portraits, in enamel, specimens of the art of the last century.—Also, a curious miniature, representing the sable-featured Madonna, supposed to be copied from some celebrated image of the Virgin, in Portugal.—*Dr. Charlesworth.*

The Crucifixion, a spirited carving in oak, of the sixteenth century.—Also, three carved panels of oak, from an ancient house in Lincoln, exhibiting the plume of feathers and the devices of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI.

Mr. E. J. Willson.

The Nativity, a carving in wood, gilded, probably of Flemish work, part of an altar-piece or *retable.* Sixteenth century.—*Rev. Edwin Jarvis.*

A bronze statuette, of cinque-cento style, found at Castor, Northamptonshire. It is a naked figure (height, 7½ in.) One hand placed on the breast, the other leans on a shield of sixteenth century form, charged with three lozenges or fusils. —*The Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln.*

A portion of mosaic work, the *opus Alexandrinum*, from the dome of the Mosque of Santa Sophia; some of the tesseræ exhibiting gilding, laid in the thickness of the glass, of which they are composed.—*The Rev. Edwin Jarvis.*

Model of Grantham Church, Lincolnshire. Scale, sixteenth of an inch to a foot. —*Mr. George Calder.*

Models of the Ancient Gate of the House of the White Friars, near Stamford, now the approach to the Infirmary; and of the Font at Fotheringhay Church, Northamptonshire.—*Mr. Langley, of Stamford.*

Models of Baptismal Fonts in Lincolnshire, executed under the direction of the Cambridge Camden Society.—Copy of a curious inscription in the churchyard at Thurlby, near Lincoln; and drawings of the screen, and other details in that church.—*Sir E. Ffrench Bromhead, Bart.*

Fragments of a miniature effigy of a Knight, possibly sepulchral, found amongst the materials of the walls of the old buildings of the Hospital, at Lincoln, demolished in June, 1848. The costume appears to be of the time of Richard II. (Presented to the Institute.)—*Mr. Philip N. Brockedon.*

Cast from a miniature effigy of a mitred Ecclesiastic, existing in the Church of Abbey Dore, Herefordshire. A representation of it is given in the Journal of the Archaeol. Association, vol. ii., p. 361. In its present mutilated state the slab measures 14½ in. by 10 in. at top, and 8½ in. across the bottom. Part of an inscription appears on the margin, as follows,— . . IA . PONTIFICIS . CO . . . . . XPISTE: IOH'I . . .—*The Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford.*

Cast from the ancient scutcheon-plate and ring on one of the doors of Boston Church, Lincolnshire.—*Sir C. J. Anderson, Bart.*

Rubbings from sepulchral brasses in St. Botolph's Church, Boston; with one from a remarkable incised slab, discovered about 1820, on the site of the Franciscan Friary, now occupied by the Grammar School at that town. (A representation is given amongst the Illustrations.)—*Mr. R. Goodacre, Boston.*

Original monumental brass, the effigy 9 inches in length, with an inscribed plate commemorative of Richard Littlebury, of Staneby, co. Lincoln, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Edmund Jenney, of Knoddishall, Suffolk, Knt. He died in 1521, and Elizabeth in 1523. From the Church of Ashby-Puerorum, in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, in which it was forthwith to be replaced.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

Sepulchral brasses from Continental Churches, including several beautiful specimens from Bruges, and a very singular "Palimpsest." These valuable rubbings were most kindly presented to the Collection of the Institute.

Sir Charles Anderson, Bart.

Four rubbings from the fine sepulchral brasses, preserved in Westminster Abbey,—Archbishop Waldeby, 1397; Alianora, Duchess of Gloucester, 1399; Sir John Harpedon, 1457; and John Estney, Abbot of Westminster, 1498.

Sir E. Ffrench Bromhead, Bart.

Rubbing from the remarkable sepulchral brass of Thomas de Topclyff, 1391, in design resembling those attributed to Flemish engravers. It is preserved in Topcliffe Church, Yorkshire (Archaeol. Journal, vol. ii., p. 207).

Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe.

Rubbings from the inscription and sepulchral slabs existing in the Church of St. Peter at Gowts, at Lincoln. (Manual of Cross-slabs, by the Rev. E. L. Cutts. Pl. XIII.; Boutell's Christian Monuments, p. 33).—*Mr. Philip N. Brockedon.*

Escutcheon of mixed metal, the heraldic bearing expressed by coloured enamel, inlaid on the surface of the plate. It was formerly affixed to the monument of John Russel, Bishop of Lincoln, who was interred under an altar tomb in the Chantry Chapel, founded by him on the south side of the Lady Chapel. He died in 1494. The arms are—Azure, two chevronels or, between three roses argent. Two coats were borne by this bishop, and both are to be seen in the dining-hall at the ancient episcopal palace at Buckden, with his device, a throstle (?) carrying in its beak an inscribed scroll,—IE SVIS LE RVSCELLVY.* The earlier bearing was a chevron between three cross-crosslets

* In Camden's Brit., ed. Gough, vol. ii., pl. vi., p. 251., a representation is given of this device, a roundel, probably a boss, described as "cut on the dormants of the dining-room;" the bird is called there a hawk, but it is probably the redstart, *rutacilla*, in Italian *revezuolo*, or *corossolo* (red tail). Cotgrave gives the old French names, "*Rousselet*, the river nightingale. *Rozelet*, a very small and beautiful bird, which useth to sing very much," living among reeds, &c. This seems to be the reed-bunting, or *tulan des roscaux*.

fitchy : he subsequently bore the three roses, probably in allusion to the name of Russel. Another escutcheon, formerly on the tomb of Bishop Russel, at Lincoln, was removed or stolen about the year 1809. The bearing was,—Ermines, a chevron parti per pale, or and sa. (?) The field had been inlaid with white metal. According to the sketches given by Henry Chitting, Chester Herald, in his notes of Lincoln Minster, July, 1634 (Orig. in Coll. Arm. f. 12 v°.), the throstle was represented in the Russel Chantry standing on a white rose.—*The Rev. the Precentor, Canon in Residence.*

A letter N. of brass or latten plate, doubtless formed to be inlaid on a sepulchral slab, as part of the inscription around the verge. Slabs are of frequent occurrence on which cavities or matrices appear, in which similar letters, now removed, had been inserted. Height of the letter, 1½ in.* Also, two fragments of sepulchral brasses, taken from two distinct memorials; they are two of the evangelistic symbols, within quatrefoils, the winged ox, and the eagle. —*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

A letter T., for the like use, formed of latten plate, found near East Gate, Lincoln. Height, 2 inches.—*Mr. Dudding.*

Ornamental leaves, formed of lead, and formerly gilded, used to decorate the stalls in the choir of Lincoln Minister. The twelve stalls only towards the west end, six on each side, were thus ornamented. The bosses of the canopies were of wood, turned in the lathe, and each boss, at the intersection of the ribs of the canopy, was covered by an ornament of this kind, attached by nails, and bent up at the four corners to fit it for its position.—*Mr. E. J. Willson.*

SEPULCHRAL BRASSES OF LINCOLNSHIRE.

By the kindness of the Committee of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society, *in communicating the Collection in their possession, the series of incised memorials displayed for the gratification of the Institute, was nearly complete, comprising all the remarkable examples existing in Lincolnshire, hitherto little known. We are indebted to the obliging attention of the* Rev. F. Pyndar Lowe, *Hon. Sec. of the* Architectural Society, *who supplied a "List of Lincolnshire Brasses," and the kind assistance of* Mr. Franks, *by whom the following detailed and descriptive Catalogue has been prepared. It includes a few memorials, not comprised in the valuable collection exhibited by the Lincolnshire Society.*

Algarkirke.—Nicholas Robertson, merchant of the Staple of Calais, and his wives, 1498. Nave. He wears a gown, with gipciére and beads, to which is attached a ring: on each side is a female figure. Inscription,—Sis testis Xpe quod ñ iacet hic lapis iste Corpus ut ornetur sed sp's ut memoretur. Quisquis er' qui transier' sta p'lege plora. Sū quod eris fuerā q'd es p' me p'cor ora."

Barton-upon-Humber.—Simon Seman, vintner, and Alderman of London, 1433. A large figure; under the feet are two barrels. Chancel.

Bigby.—A lady, with pedimental shaped head-dress; *circa* 1500:—"Here lyeth Elizabeth Skypwyth late the wyf of Willm̄ Skypwyth Esquier Son and heyre of Sr Johñ Skypwyth of Ormesby in the countē of Lincoln knyght and daught' unto Willm̄ Tyrwhyt of Kettylby in the sam counte knygt."

Dr. Edward Naylor, his wife and progeny, 1632. A mural brass.

Boston.—Walter Pescod and wife (her figure lost), 1398. He wears a gown powdered with peas-cods and flowers, a mantle fastened on the right shoulder, and a hood; the figures placed under a large square canopy, the sides of which are

* These metal letters are rare. Gough, in his History of Croyland Abbey, Bibl. Topog., No. xi., p. 73, gives a representation of an A. of about the same dimensions as the above, dug up about 1750, in a grave in the Abbey Church.

HIC IACET WISSELVS DCS
SMALENBVRCH CIVIS ET MERCATOR MONAS GERMANIE OVI OBIIT MARIA SEXTA
POST PRIMA VICESIM BEATE MARIE
VIR CIVIS ANNO DOMINI M CC XII ANIMA EIVS REQVIESCAT IN PACE AMEN

Memorial of Wisselus de Smalenburgh found in 1795, near the site of the Franciscan Friary, at Boston, Lincolnshire

From an Impression exhibited by Mr. Goodacre, of Boston.
(Catalogue of Lincoln Museum, p. lii.)

formed with fifteen niches, five on each side, and two at the top, containing figures of the Apostles. Three central niches probably contained figures of the Saviour and angels with censers (now lost). Beneath the great canopy are two triple canopies, one over each figure. Various parts are ornamented with the canting device of peas-cods. North aisle.

A large figure of a priest, vested in a cope and stole, having in the orfrays figures of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James, St. Andrew, St. Bartholomew, and one other, probably an apostle. *Circa* 1410. Chancel. (Noticed by Gough, Sep. Mon. Introd., Vol. ii., p. 314.)

Portions of figures of a civilian and two females, under a small triple canopy, *circa* 1420. One of the female effigies only is perfect. South aisle.

A lady, *circa* 1460. She wears a long gown, girt very high, and a variety of the horned head-dress. At her feet is a dog. No inscription.

Figures of a civilian and his wife, both much defaced ; *circa* 1470.*

A remarkable incised slab, memorial of Wisselus de Smalenburgh, merchant, of Munster, 1312. It was discovered on the site of the Franciscan Priory, on the south-east side of the town of Boston.† The foreign design of this interesting memorial would lead to the supposition that it was engraved by a German artist. A rubbing was kindly supplied by Mr. R. Goodacre, of Boston, and the effigy with the shrine work surrounding it, has been carefully pourtrayed in the accompanying woodcut, skilfully executed by Mr. Utting. The site of the Friary is now occupied by the Grammar School.‡ (See Archaeol. Journal, vol. vi. p. 54.)

Broughton.—Knight and lady, holding hearts between their hands ; *circa* 1370. Height, 4 ft. 9 in. Chancel. (Engraved in Boutell's Brasses, p. 30.)

Burton Coggles.—Sir Humphrey Cholmeley, and wife, 1620.

Burton Pedwardine.—A female figure, *circa* 1631.

Buslingthorpe.—Sir Richard de Buslingthorp, *circa* 1300. A small demi-figure in chain mail, with surcoat and ailettes, the gauntlets scaled. In his hands he holds a heart (?). The head rests on two cushions. The slab on which this brass is laid, is coffin-shaped, and bears this legend in "Lombardic" capitals :— "✠ ISSY · GIT · SIRE · RYCHARD · LE · FIZ · SIRE · IOHN · DE . BOSELINGTHORP · DEL · ALMY · DEKY . DEVS · EYT · MERCY." (Figure engraved in the text of Waller's Brasses ; the slab in Boutell's Christian Monuments, p. 146.)

Coates, Great.—Isabella Barnardiston, *circa* 1420. Nave.

Thomas Barnardiston and his wife, with the Resurrection, 1503. Chancel.

Conisholme.—John Langholme, 1515, his wife, five sons, and six daughters. Inscription as follows :—"✠ Hic sub lapide marmoreo tumulantur corpora Johannis Langholme de Conisholme in Comitatu Lincolne Armiger et Anne uxoris eius qui quidem Johannes obiit primo die mens' Octobris Anno Christi Millesimo quingentesimo quinto decimo quorum Animabus propicietur deus. Amen. Ihū m'cy Lady helpe"

Covenham, St. Bartholomew.—John Skypwythe, 1415. A figure in armour, basinet and camail, jupon, and transverse sword-belt. Length, 2 ft. 10 in. :—"Hic iacet Joh'es Skypwyth' Armiger qui obiit xv° die Mensis Julii Anno dñi Millimo CCCC° XV° cui' aīe p'piciet' d's. amen." Chancel.

Croft.—The head and arms of a figure in banded mail ; part of a surcoat appears. *Circa* 1300. (Boutell's Christian Monuments, p. 147.)

* In the Thorp Chantry chapel there was a brass of Isabella, d. and h. of Sir Edm. Thorp, and wife of Philip Tilney, 1436.

† Allen's Hist. of Lincolnshire, vol. i., p. 255.

‡ There was another fine incised slab near Boston, at Wyberton, representing Adam de Franton, 1325, and Sibilla his wife.

Driby.—James Prescot, and Alice his wife, 1583. Kneeling figures. Nave.

Fiskerton.—A priest, vested in a cope ; *circa* 1490.

Grainthorpe.—A very rich foliated cross, standing on a rock in the sea. Length, 7 ft. Shaft lost. *Circa* 1400. (Engraved in Boutell's Brasses.) Chancel.

Gunby.—A knight and his lady, *circa* 1405. Armour of plate, with basinet and camail, collar of SS, jupon and cingulum. Length, 5 ft. 6 in. In the nave. Arms, three quatrefoils, in chief a boar. (Massingberde.) Double canopy, much broken ; inscription around the verge imperfect, evidently of later date, in raised letter, partly cut over an inscription in incised letter. The lady wears a crespine coverchief, and collar of SS. "✠ Syr Thomas Massyngberde . . . . hys wyfe specyale desyres all resũabull creaturs of yowr charyte to gyfe . . . . of evyr lastyng lyfe wyth" . . . . (Two plates in Boutell's Brasses. See also Burke's Commoners, vol. iii.)

William de Lodyngton, 1419. A fine figure, in judge's robe, mantle, and coif ; an anelace hangs at his girdle ; his feet rest on a spotted leopard. Over the figure, which measures nearly four feet in length, is an elegant single canopy, and two scutcheons, the dexter one lost ; the other bears these arms :—Paly of six (arg. and az.) on a chief (gu.) a lion passant quadrant or, *Lodington*, impaling crusuly a cinq foil or, *Saltmersh*. Under the figure are two inscribed plates :—"Loudington William stricto tumulo requiescens—Justus erat quoniam sit celesti dape vescens ;" and the following :—"Hic iacet Will's de Lodington quondã unus iusticiarior' illustrissimi d'ni Regis Henrici quinti de co'i Banco qui obiit nono die mensis Januar' Anno dñi M° CCCC° XIX° Cuius a'ie p'picietur de' amen."* Chancel. (Engraved in Illustr. of Monum. Brasses, Camb. Camd. Soc., p. 199.)

Hainton.—John Henege and his wife, 1435. He wears a short gown, with a hood. Inscription as follows :—"Hic jacet Johẽs Henege et Alicia uxor eius qui obiit xxij° die Mensis Septembris Anno dñi Mill'mo CCCC° XXXV°. Cui' a'ie p'piciet' de' amen." North Chantry.

/553 Sir Thomas Henneage, ~~son of the last, 1453~~, his wife and daughter. He wears an armorial tabard over his armour, and kneels at a desk. His wife wears an armorial mantle ; and behind her is another female effigy. Scrolls proceed from their mouths. Two scutcheons of arms remain. Chancel. It is placed over a tomb.

"Here under lieth Sir Thomas Henneage knight Chief Gentilmã of the prevey Chamber to y^e^ kinge of ffamous memorye King Henry the eight Sonne & heyre of Johñ Henneage Esquier who maried Kateryne Daughter of Sir John Skypwyth knight whiche Sir Thomas and Kateryne had Isshu Elizabeth now being wyffe to the right honorable the lorde Willoughbye of Parh'm . the said Sir Thomas Henneage departid this liffe xxj^th^ daye of August in the yere of our Lorde God M^l^ ccccc liij. uppon whose soul Jh'u have mercy. Amen."

Halton Holgate.—Bridgett Rugeley, 1658. Well-designed effigy, seen in three-quarters.—"Here lies buried the body of Bridgett the wife of John Rugeley daughter and heire of Thomas Thorey who Deceased the 15th day of May in ye yeare of our Lord 1658. Ætatis suæ 21." Nave.

Holbeach.—A figure in armour (head lost) and a lady ; *circa* 1420.

Horncastle.—Sir Leo, or Lionel, Dymoke, 1519. He is represented kneeling ; a mural figure. N. aisle. Four scutcheons of arms. On the pavement he is again represented in his shroud.—"In Honore S'cte et individue Trinitatis orate p' ai'a Leonis Dymoke milit' q' obiit xliij° die mẽs' augusti A° Dñi C M° CCCCXIX. Cui' &c."

* "Will. Lodington—constitut. 16 Junii, 1416. Pat. 3 Hen. V." Dugd. Orig. Judic.

Sir Andrew Louttrell, lord of Irnham, died Sept. 6, 1390.

(Catal. of Museum, p. lv.)

Ingoldmells.—William Palmer, 1520. He wears a gown with long sleeves; at his side is a staff or crutch.—"Pray for the sowle of Will'm Palmer wyth y^e^ Stylt whiche decesid on holy Rode day In y^e^ yere of ow^r^ lord god a M^l^ CCCCC XX^ti^ on whose sowle ihū haue mercy." (Archaeol. Journal, vol. ii., p. 248.)

Irnham.—Sir Andrew Loutrell, 1390.* In a chantry north side of chancel. Elegant canopy, but imperfect. Under the feet an inscription—"Hic iacet Andreas Louttrell miles dñi de Jrnh'm qui obijt vi^to^ die septēbr' a° dñi mill'o ccc° Nonagesimo cui' aīe p'piciet' deus." (See the annexed representation. It is also engraved in Illustr. of Monum. Brasses, Camb. Camd. Soc.)

A figure in armour: *circa* 1430.

Kelsey, South.—Knight and lady, *circa* 1410. In the nave. Length, 4 ft. 8 in. A very curious example of military costume, especially in the defences of plate for the face and throat; the singular recurved plates protecting the arm-holes, the mitten-like gauntlets, and rich flexible cingulum. (Engraved in Boutell's Brasses.)

Laughton.—A fine figure in armour; *circa* 1400. He wears camail, jupon with foliated skirt, transverse belt as well as cingulum; at his sword-hilt a scutcheon charged with a flamboyant star of six points; at his feet a lion. A triple canopy, with groining, in which appear two flamboyant stars. The canopy appears to have suffered bad restoration. Underneath is this inscription (a later insertion):—"Hic iacent Willm̄us Dalison Armig' quondā vicecomes & Escheator comitat' lincolñ ac un' justiciar' pacis & quor' in eodem com̄. Et Georgius Dalison filius et heres eius dē Willm̄i. Qui quidē Willm̄s obiit decimo octavo die mēsis Decēbris Anno dñi M° CCCCC° xlvj° & A° regni nup' regis Henrici octavi xxxviij. Et dictus Georgius obiit xx° die mensis Junii Anno dñi M° CCCCC° xlix & Anno regni nup' regis Edwardi sexti tertio. Quar' añiar' p'picietur deus. amen."† (Engraved in Boutell's Monumental Brasses, p. 34.) Altar tomb, S. aisle.

Leadenham.—Lady Elizabeth Clynton, 1624. Beresford (from Clinton)

Linwood.‡—John Lyndwode and his wife, 1419. Figures under a double canopy; seven children below, under small canopies. A woolstapler standing on a woolsack. Nave.

John Lyndewode, 1421. A fine figure of a merchant in a loose gown, full sleeved, close at the wrists, and girt at the waist. An anelace hangs from his girdle; his feet rest on a wool-sack, marked with a merchant's device. Over the figure is a rich single canopy, formerly surmounted by a rectangular one. One scutcheon remains,—a chevron between three leaves (doubtless of the lynde or lime-tree) or. Nave. The inscription, partly imperfect, is as follows:—

Hunc lapidem cernens lyndewode Johis Quē mors p'sternens . . . . .
M C quater & bis uno; Julii quoqu' mense ffesto praxedi mortisque . . .
Sic q' patris tumulo nati tumulus sociatur Quo velut in speculo mortis . .
Ergo qui transis magno medio puer ausis Puras funde preces nobis . . .

Mablethorpe.—Elizabeth Fitzwilliam. Figure of a lady, with long flowing hair, as having died unmarried. The inscription is as follows:—"Here lieth Elisabeth dowghter of George Fitzwilliam of Malberthorp Esquier wich George maried Elisabeth dowght' of S^r^ Thomas barnestoñ of great Coot knyght & the

* See the memoirs of the Louterels of Irnham, in Mr. Stapleton's Account of the Holy Trinity Priory, York, p. 177, in the York Transactions of the Archaeol. Inst.

† This singular appropriation of an earlier memorial was noticed by the Rev. W. Drake in Archaeol. Journal, vol. ii., p. 189.

‡ It deserves mention, that a slab with the indent of a cross-legged brass effigy exists here. The name, *Sir Henry . . . . . us* remains. The knight had ailettes: length of the figure about 28 in.

said Elisabeth the yownger decessed the iij day of May the yere of o^r lord god M^l cccccxxij on whose Soule ihū haue m'cy amen." Chancel.

Northorpe.—A man and his wives, *circa* 1600.

Norton Disney.—Slab bearing the impress or indent of a brass representing a cross-legged knight.

An inscription with figures, commemorative of William Disney and his wife, and Richard Disney, with two wives. Date 1578. It is a "Palimpsest," with a Dutch inscription on the reverse. This plate is now affixed to the wall, on hinges, so that both sides may be examined. (Engraved in Gough's Sep. Mon.)

Ormsby, South.—A curious female figure, *circa* 1410. She wears her hair enclosed in a crespine, with jewelled bordure, a veil thrown over it: her dress closely buttoned up to the chin; she has a necklace of beads, and the fastenings of her mantle are large circular ornaments of rich chased work. Chancel.

Sir William Skypwyth, and his lady, 1482. A figure in armour, the lady with coverchief and barbe, under a double canopy. Inscription as follows,—"Orate p' a'iab^s dñi Will'i Skypwyth Militis et Annetis ux'is ei' qui inferi^e iacent qui quidem Willm's obiit vicesimo septimo die Nouembr' anno dñi Mill'mo cccc lxxxij°. quorum Animabus propiciet' deus." Chancel.

Pinchbeck.—Elizabeth, wife of John Carr, 1600. A square plate, on which appears a kneeling female figure, surrounded by armorial escutcheons, arranged genealogically. Chancel.

Salmonby.—A civilian, much defaced, xvth cent. Nave.

Scotter.—Marmaduke Tirwhit and his wife, 1599. Mural brass. Nave.

Scrivelsby.—Sir Robert Demoke, 1545. A figure in armour, the head resting on a helmet, the beard very long. Over him is an escutcheon of the arms of Dymock, with Marmion and other quarterings.—"Here liethe the Body of Sir Robert Demoke of Scriuelsby knygt & baronet who departed owt of this present lyfe in y^e yere of owr lord God M^l D^c xlv° upon whose sowle allmyghte God haue m'cy amen." Sir Robert was Champion at the Coronations of Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. Altar tomb.

Somersby.—George Littlebury, 1612. Mural brass. Chancel.

Spilsby.—Margery, Lady Wylughby de Eresby, 1391. A lady, clad in the short sideless garment, over her kirtle, and a mantle. Her hair is enclosed in a crespine, and her head rests on a cushion. At her feet are two dogs. Of eight escutcheons seven remain, bearing the arms of Bohun, Ufford, and Beke, quarterly, Zouch, Roos, Beaumont, and Ufford with Beke quarterly, impaling Zouch. Inscription, as follows,—"Hic iacet Margeria que fuit uxor Roberti de Wylughby dñi de Eresby que obiit xviij die mensis (octobris añno dñi Mill'im° ccc) nonagesimo p^imo cui' aïe p'piciet' deus." The symbols of the Evangelists are placed at the corner of the slabs.*

Knight and lady, of the Wylughby de Eresby family; *circa* 1410. Armour chiefly of plate, skirt of taces. A coronal of roses round the basinet. Details very rich. Under the knight is a scutcheon, quarterly 1 and 4, a cross engraved, 2 and 3, effaced. On a small scutcheon on the scabbard is a lion rampant. Length, 4 ft. Chancel. Canopy-shafts and inscription lost. (Two plates in Boutell's Brasses. See also Shaw's Topographer, vol. i., p. 349.)

Stallingburgh.—Sir William Ayscugh and his wife, *circa* 1510. Chancel.

* An interesting account of the monumental effigies and memorials of the Bekes and Wylughby's, at Spilsby, is given by Gervase Hollis in his Lincolnshire Church Notes, Harl. MS. 6829. See also Shaw's Topographer, vol. i., p. 349.

Stamford.—*St. John's.*—A priest in the mass vestments. Henry Sargeant, 1497.

A burgess, or secular person, Nicholas Byldysdon, 1489, and his wife.

St. Mary's.—A female figure, Margaret Elmes, 1471.

All Saints.—An inscription in very beautiful character. A figure of a civilian, with a girdle having a curious pendant, and a purse or *aulmonière.* In 1837, this plate was kept at the vicarage.

John Brown and his wife, figures placed under canopies, 1480. They appear standing on woolpacks; device, the pelican, in piety, with "Christ me spede," as a motto.

A Female figure, 1481.

See engravings in Peck's Annals of Stamford.

Stoke Rochford.—Henry Rochforth, in armour, 1470.

Tattershall.—William Moor, Provost of the College, vested in a cope, the orfrays ornamented with figures of saints. 1456. A fine example. (Engraved by Gough, Sep. Mon., Vol. ii., pl. lxvi.)*

Ralph Lord Cromwell, Lord High Treasurer, Founder of the Collegiate Church at Tattershall, 1455, and Joan his wife, 1469. Only part of his figure remained when Gough gave his account of the monuments: these memorials have since suffered mutilation, and portions still remaining are misplaced. (Engraved in Gough's Sep. Mon., Vol. ii., pl. lxii.)

Maud, daughter and heiress of Lord Cromwell, and wife of Robert Lord Willoughby, 1497. An interesting figure under a canopy. (See Gervase Hollis' Lincolnshire Church Notes, Harl. MS., 6829, and Shaw's Topographer, Vol. i., i. 239.)

Theddlethorpe.—Robert Hayton, 1424. An interesting example, about 22½ inches in length. Basinet and camail; armour of plate and skirt of taces. Two escutcheons with these arms, billety, a lion passant. Beneath is an inscription, in raised letter.—"Hic iacet Robertus Hayton Armiger qui obijt xxv° die Mensis Februarij Anno dñi Millimo cccc vicesimo quarto cui' aīe p'piciet' deus amē." South aisle. (Engraved in Boutell's Monumental Brasses.)

Waltham.—John Waltham, son and daughter, demi-figures. 1420. Nave.

Winterton.—The wives of John Rudd. 1504. Chancel.

Winthorpe.—Richard Barowe, and his wife. 1505. He was merchant of the staple of Calais.

Robert Palmer. 1515.†

A fine bowl of Oriental porcelain, decorated with figures and ornaments from designs transmitted from England for the purpose, probably in the earlier part of the last century. The subjects represent the Four Ages of Human Life; the infant in arms,—the youth beating a drum,—the well-dressed coxcomb, and the

* There was formerly another sepulchral brass here, of an ecclesiastic, Hugo de Wondeby, 1411 (Gough). The church and monuments have suffered greatly from injury and neglect.

† To the above Catalogue may be added the following.—*Hatcliffe*, Brasses of a knight and lady: he has a collar of SS. (Gent. Mag., vol. xcix., p. 409.) At Kingerby there was a slab with a demi-figure of a man, bearing a scutcheon on his right arm,—a chevron between three birds. At Great Grimsby were brasses of William Wele (with collar of SS.) and his wife, in the N. aisle. Also, Galfridus Pedde, 1408. Many incised memorials, now probably lost, are described in Gervase Hollis's Church Notes, taken 1634 (Harl. MS., 6829): Frescheville's Notes, taken 1680. The brasses formerly in Lincoln Minster, are sketched in Dugdale's Visitation, in Lord Winchelsea's library, at Eastwell, Kent, of which a transcript is preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. Stukeley, in Itin. Cur. pl. 16, gives the curious brass of William, Bishop of Lincoln, 1514, formerly near the W. entrance of the Minster.

monk,—an aged man on his death-bed. In the centre is inscribed, *Sic via est hominum,* and the four ages are characterised by the following verses:—

(1) Behold the child by Nature's kindly law,
Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw.

(2) Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,
A little louder, but as empty quite.

(3) Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage,
And beads and pray'r-books are ye toys of age.

(4) Pleas'd with this bauble still as that before,
Till tired he sleeps, and life's poor play is o'er.

Exhibited by the Rev. Henry Jarvis.

A fine specimen of Italian ware, painted with a subject, supposed to be after Giulio Romano, representing a battle-scene.—*Mrs. Arthur Trollope.*

Two beautiful cups, of Oriental workmanship, lined with gold.—*Mrs. Humphry Sibthorp.*

A plate of Oriental porcelain, emblazoned with an armorial achievement, supposed to be connected with the Tyrwhitts, of Stainfield Hall, Lincolnshire. The arms are,—Gules, a castle arg., in base a lion seiant retrogardant, or, impaling, arg., a chevron engrailed between three lapwings (?) Sa. Two crests, a Saracen's head, and a sword erect. Motto,—VE DAL AM DARO.—*Richard Ellison, Esq.*

Specimens of a service of fine Oriental porcelain, emblazoned with the bearings of the Hodgson family of Northumberland, and identical with those of Sir H. Hudson, of Wanlip, co. Leicester, Bart.—*Mr. W. Hylton Longstaffe.*

NOTICE OF THE STUKELEY COLLECTIONS.

IN THE POSSESSION OF JOHN BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.

AMONGST the valuable MSS. exhibited in the Museum formed at Lincoln, during the Meeting of the Institute, and briefly described in the foregoing Catalogue, two books are mentioned of more than ordinary interest to the Lincolnshire archaeologist and to antiquaries in general. They are the autograph memorials of Stukeley, a native of the county, and who sought with unwearied zeal to illustrate its antiquities; the first secretary, also, of the Society of Antiquaries of London, when that institution was founded, in 1718. These volumes form a portion of the curious collections in the possession of Mr. Britton,—by whose kind permission the following particulars are here given. They cannot be regarded as inappropriate in a volume expressly devoted to antiquarian researches in Lincolnshire. The entire "Stukeley Collections," may be described as comprising an autobiography of considerable length, with a series of his diaries and journals, and accounts of the transactions of various literary and scientific associations with which he was intimately connected. It includes his correspondence with many eminent historians and antiquaries of his time; particularly numerous unpublished letters from Bishop Warburton; and the whole of the communications with Bertram, of Copenhagen, in reference to the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, on the history and authenticity of which they throw light. There are also numerous drawings by Dr. Stukeley,—antiquarian notes and personal memorials, supplying altogether a remarkable amount of information, not less in regard to the state of science and literature in his times, than as materials for a memoir of one of the most eminent Lincolnshire antiquaries of the last century, by whose indefatigable industry and devotion to researches—then viewed with

derision, the rise of a more intelligent taste for the study of national antiquities was essentially encouraged.

The two little volumes, produced at Lincoln by Mr. Britton for the gratification of the meeting, comprised various details curiously pourtraying the growth of Stukeley's love of antiquity as also the spirit of his times. The germ of his strong taste for antiquarian investigation may probably be traced to the following incidents. Speaking of his early delight in seeking herbs at Fleetwoods, near Holbeach, with James Ayscough,—a relation of Sir Isaac Newton,—Stukeley remarks: "Another place in our own parish took up some of my time, called Barringtons, full of motes, banks, and ruins of a fortify'd hall, belonging to that antient family, much wood being then in the place. About this time," (in the spring of 1700, when Stukeley was thirteen years old,) "one Lenton found a great pot full of Roman coyn, digging to make a grip round a hay-stack, at the next parish, Fleet: these were of the lower empire and 30 tyrants; but this much excited my curiosity and latent love of antiquitys. I presently got some of them, and began a collection, and drew 'em out with exactness."

The subsequent circumstances of Stukeley's early life; his vain attempt to read law at Staples Inn, in compliance with his father's wishes; his admission at Corpus College, Cambridge, in 1703, where his thoughts seem to have been more devoted to making a "ground plot" of that ancient city, than to any academic studies; his subsequent study of physic, whilst he indulged his taste for taking drawings of churches and rambling far to visit historic sites;—all these, and much more, are quaintly detailed in this autobiography. He seems to have been singularly partial to forming societies for scientific objects: in 1710, when practising physic at Boston, on his first return from London, he records that he "erected a Botanic Club;" and resuming his "life of study and curiosity" in the metropolis, in 1717, he took an active interest in founding the Antiquarian Society.[1] Of his habits at that time, he notes the following particulars: "In 1718, Mr. Roger and Sam Gale and I took a journey, thro' my eager desire, to view Abury, an antiquity altogether unknown; but of which I had conceiv'd an high notion. Then we went to Stonehenge, which surpriz'd me beyond measure; we visited Wilton, and that laid the foundation for the great intimacy my Lord Pembroke (Thomas) honor'd me with.—I was the first person made a free mason in London for many years: we had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony; immediately upon that, it took a run, and ran itself out of breath, thro' the folly of the members.—I began a vertuoso meeting in Ave Mary Lane. I began another in Orange Street; we had old Mr. Johnson's picture hung up in the room; we paid for painting it by Highmore. My old friend, the ingenious councellor, James Hill, pronounc'd a discourse there *memoriter*, about the Druids. In the memorable South Sea year, 1720, I traded in the Ally, and used to get 30 or 40 pound in a morning. This increas'd my distast to business."

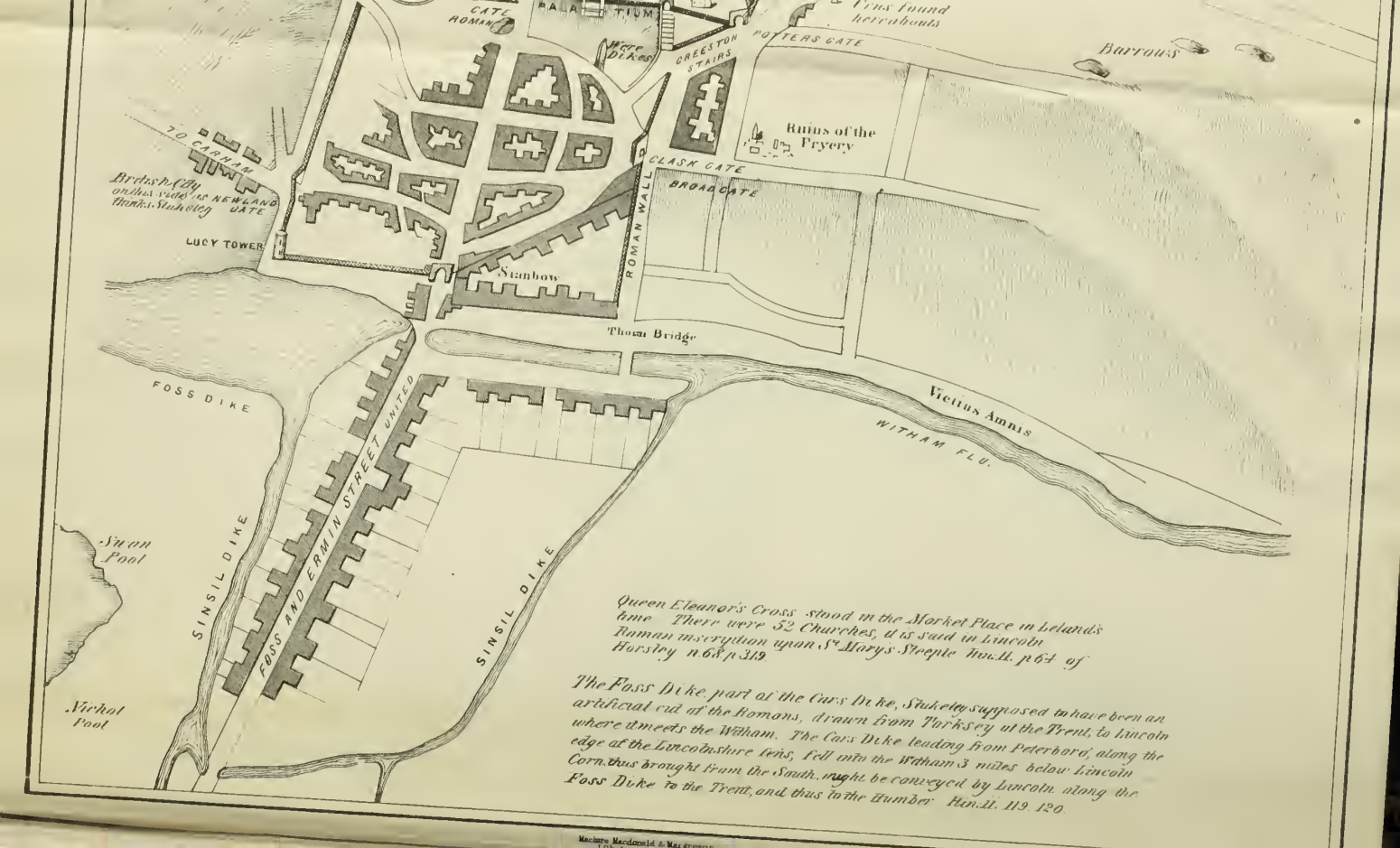
Stukeley soon abandoned his practice as a London physician, and retired to Grantham, to pursue his speculations on Druidism, and institute literary or antiquarian periodical meetings, in concert with Peck and a few other persons, at Croxton, at Greetham and West Deeping. But his efforts to introduce a taste for such pursuits in his native county were of small avail. "I twice endevor'd to erect a truly literary society at Stamford, by the name of Brazen Nose Society, but in vain. I fill'd some quarto books with the memoirs; but, as at first I might say, *quorum pars magna fui*, in a little time, *pars tota*." The only efficient society in Lincolnshire, at that period, seems to have been that formed by Maurice Johnson at Spalding, which still exists; and we are indebted to the president, the Rev. Dr. Moore, both for the interesting Notices included in this volume (see p. 82), and for his kindness in producing the original Minute-books, replete with curious local information, for the gratification of the Institute, during the meeting at Lincoln. They were liberally deposited in the Museum, for the examination of the antiquaries assembled on that occasion.

[1] See a full account of this Institution—Introd. to the Archæologia, vol. i., p. xxxiii.

There is much in the "Stukeley Collections" which appears well-deserving of publication, and we hope that Mr. Britton may carry into effect the intention which he has expressed of giving to the world some of these interesting memorials. The present purpose has been solely to avail ourselves of his courteous permission, by calling attention to their curious character, more especially as connected with the county to which this volume specially relates.

A century since, Stukeley could find scarcely any one in Lincolnshire or its vicinity of tastes congenial to his own. He was not, however, without encouragement from distinguished patrons, especially the Duke of Montague, who ultimately recalled him to London, and gave him preferment. "Whilst I was rector of All Saints, Stamford, (Stukeley notes in his pocket-book,) I became well acquainted with Beverley Butler, Esq., owner of Barnhill House, which I afterwards bought of him and lived in it, till I removed to London by the Duke of Montagu's nomination. In that house was an old family painting on board, seemingly done by Hans Holben, being the monumental effigies of the Wingfield family, of which Mr. Butler was descended. It was done in a genealogical descent from the Earl of Salisbury and his countess, whose pictures and arms were there delineated—that Earl who was one of the founders of the garter and ancestor of the Duke of Montagu. This painting, of great value, I presented to the Duke of Montagu, who was infinitely delighted with it. I presented to him a fine seal of one of his ancestors in Henry VIII.'s time, cut in box. I presented intaglias, coyns, drawings innumerable, accounts of antiquitys, whatever I thought agreeable to his Grace, that was curious, for I had no body near me that set any value upon curiosity, and I look'd upon myself as dead to the learned world."

This note of a highly curious work of art has been extracted, not merely as a sample of the contents of the volumes kindly exhibited by Mr. Britton, but because this identical painting was produced at one of the meetings of the Institute in London, by permission of his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, in whose possession it is preserved. It was then stated, by Mr. T. Hudson Turner, who gave a detailed account of the picture, that it may be attributed to Guillim Stretes, painter to Edward VI., rather than to Holbein. The curious details of costume show that, probably, it had been copied or composed from some work of art of a much earlier period.


CATR ROMAN
BALNEUM
Vicus Dikes
CREESTON STAIRS
POTTERS GATE
Barrows
Ruins of the Fryery
CLASK GATE
BROAD GATE
ROMAN WALL
TO CANAL
British City on this side is NEWLAND GATE
Banks Stukeley
LUCY TOWER
Stambow
Thorn Bridge
FOSS DIKE
FOSS AND ERMIN STREET UNITED
SINSIL DIKE
SINSIL DIKE
Swan Pool
Nichol Pool
Victus Amnis
WITHAM FLU.
Queen Eleanor's Cross stood in the Market Place in Belands time There were 52 Churches, it is said in Lincoln
Roman inscription upon St Mary's Steeple Mon.H. p64 of
Horsley n.68 p.319.
The Foss Dike, part of the Cars Dike, Stukeley supposed to have been an
artificial cut of the Romans, drawn from Torksey on the Trent, to Lincoln
where it meets the Witham. The Cars Dike leading from Peterboro', along the
edge of the Lincolnshire fens, fell into the Witham 3 miles below Lincoln
Corn thus brought from the South, might be conveyed by Lincoln along the
Foss Dike to the Trent, and thus to the Humber Ant.H. 119. 120.

T. Wilson del. S.H. Lowry sc.

CHAPEL RANGE COMPLETED FROM BUCK'S VIEW 1733.

THE ANCIENT EPISCOPAL PALACE, LINCOLN.

BY EDWARD JAMES WILLSON, ESQ., F.S.A.

A SPACIOUS and convenient mansion for the bishop's residence, near to his cathedral, would, of course, be one of the first appendages required, upon the establishment of the episcopal see at Lincoln. Here, in future, was to be his principal house; although the vast extent of the diocese, reaching, as it formerly did, from the Humber to the Thames, made it expedient for the bishop to have several other mansions in the different counties subject to his jurisdiction, as well as one in the metropolis, in order to his occasional attendance at Court. The translation of the see from Dorchester in Oxfordshire, then a poor and small town, to Lincoln, which at that period was esteemed one of the most populous and important places in England, took place very soon after the Norman Conquest; but the exact year has been much disputed. By some historians it is dated in 1088, in the second year of the reign of William Rufus; but this is certainly too late. From a careful collation of the statements of our ancient chroniclers, it appears to have been decreed in 1072; as the late Dr. Samuel Pegge, Prebendary of Lincoln, a most industrious antiquary, concluded, after a minute investigation.[1]

The difficulties, however, attending the foundation of Lincoln Cathedral, which was strongly opposed by Thomas, Archbishop of York, who claimed all Lindsey and Lincoln as parts of his province and diocese,—the great cost of land to

[1] MSS. now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. King William the First in his charter says expressly, as Dr. Pegge has observed, that he had granted the translation of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln "auctoritate et consilio Alexandri Papæ et Legatorum ejus." This was Alexander the Second, who died 20th April, 1073; consequently, this transaction was prior to that date, and probably it was ordered in 1070, when three legates were here, at which time Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed.

be purchased for the site of the church, with houses around it for the dean and canons,—and other obstacles,—so far delayed the proceedings of Remigius, our first bishop, that at his death, in 1092, the cathedral church was unfinished; although so far completed as to be thought fit for consecration; which ceremony was accordingly performed with great solemnity immediately after his death. The good bishop had probably contented himself in his visits to Lincoln with a temporary abode in the house of some of his clerical brethren, as we find no notices of any palace in his time.

The foundation of the Bishop's Palace has been commonly ascribed to Robert de Chesney, the fourth Bishop of Lincoln, on account of a grant made to him by King Henry the Second about the year 1155, in which the site of the palace is clearly described. But this charter was no more in fact than an exemplification of a former grant, made by King Stephen to Bishop Alexander, at least ten years earlier. Nor was even that the original charter; for King Henry the First had given license to Robert Bloet, the immediate successor of Remigius, to make a gate in the wall of the Bail; a privilege which could be of no value to the bishop unless he had acquired some land on the outside of the wall, where the palace was afterwards erected.[2] This was probably about the year 1110.

Another charter is extant by which Henry the First granted to Bishop Alexander the "*Port of Eastgate*, with all the lands that are beyond it, for his dwelling;" for so the record reads according to the copy published in the Monasticon; but a transcript of this charter, in an ancient register of the cathedral, describes the Port of Eastgate, with the tower that is over it.[3] We need not stop to inquire which of these is the more correct reading, the object of the grant being evidently to enable the bishop to make at least a temporary lodging at

[2] See the royal charters granted to the Cathedral of Lincoln, in Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol. iii. pp. 257, &c. Edit. 1673. In the enlarged edition of this noble work, 1830, the account of Lincoln Cathedral is placed in Vol. vi. Pt. III. pp. 1266—1292. The additional matter is not of much importance.

[3] Monast. iii. p. 266[a]. "De portâ de Eastgatâ." In Remigii Chronicon, a very ancient record in the Archives of the Cathedral, the words are, "Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Alexandro Episc. Lincoln. *portam de Eastgatâ, cum turri qui supra ipsam est ad se hospitandum.*"

the east gate of the Bail; where accordingly we find the bishop possessed of some land long afterwards, which was ultimately given up for the enlargement of the deanery.

Here it may be useful to observe that the upper town, on the top of the hill, was anciently called the *Bail*, a name which probably was given to it on the erection of the Castle by William the Conqueror. This was the site of the Roman city, *Lindum*. The plan was quadrangular, being about 1300 feet from east to west, and 1200 feet from north to south. It was surrounded with strong walls; and on three sides with large ditches; the southern wall standing upon the edge of the hill, where no excavation was required; and being also included within the extended walls of the city, which ran down the hill towards the river. The Bail had four gates, facing the cardinal points of the compass; and the space within the walls was divided into four quarters by streets. The castle occupied the south-west quarter. The south-eastern one was chosen for the cathedral; a noble situation, certainly; but of only moderate extent in its original limits, before the Close was enlarged by subsequent purchases and royal grants. The *Bail*, or Liberty of the Castle, and the *Close*, or Liberty of the Cathedral, were both exempt from the municipal jurisdiction which the burgesses of Lincoln exercised by charters from the Crown.

The charter granted by Henry the Second to Bishop Robert the Second, or De Chesney, as above mentioned, grants to him "all the lands for his buildings and houses, with the fosse of the Bail wall on the eastern side, by the cemetery of St. Michael's church, as far as the cemetery of St. Andrew; and from St. Andrew's cemetery as far as the city wall towards the east. And that he might freely perforate the wall of the Bail, for his entrance and exit, towards the church; and so to build that his building might extend from one wall to the other."[4] Agreeably to this permission, we find the site of the palace bounded on the north by the southern wall of the Bail; on the east by the city wall; on the west by the church and cemetery of St. Michael-on-the-

[4] Monast. iii. 267a. "De fossato et muro Ballii ad faciendam portam." The date must have been about 1155.

Mount ; and towards the south by the site of St. Andrew's church, which has been long since taken away, together with many other ancient parochial churches in Lincoln.

Bishop Henry de Burghersh obtained license in 2nd of Edward the Third [A.D. 1328], to crenellate and fortify his palace at Lincoln with turrets and battlements. The same prelate, who was then Chancellor of England, also procured another patent, in the following year, for enlarging the palace, by concession of the Mayor of Lincoln. The garden extending along the south side of the palace was then probably added to the former limits ; and a very pleasant and useful addition it was. Richard the Second confirmed the liberties of the Bishop's Palace, as well as those of the Cathedral Close, when Dr. John Buckingham was bishop. The palace has always enjoyed every legal immunity, being extra-parochial, and subject to no municipal authority, nor chargeable with land-tax, poor-rates, or other local impositions.

No regular accounts of the progressive building of the palace have come down to us, and only a few scattered notices can be gleaned from the ancient writers. Bishop Bloet, who filled the see thirty-one years, might begin the foundations ; he died in 1123. His successor, Alexander, was a powerful and munificent prelate, and sat almost twenty-four years. He repaired the cathedral, which had been greatly injured by fire, and arched it over with stone. Bishop Alexander erected three castles on his episcopal estates ; at Sleaford, in this county ; Newark, in Nottinghamshire ; and Banbury, in Oxfordshire. The palace at Lincoln, undoubtedly, was not overlooked by this prelate ; but we cannot assign any part of it to him with certainty. Nor have we any record of the works of Robert de Chesney ; but as he obtained a confirmation of the site from King Henry the Second, we may be sure he would not neglect the buildings. This bishop died in 1167. St. Hugh, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1185 to 1200, is recorded to have begun a fine hall in the palace, which was left unfinished at his death. This hall was completed by Bishop Hugh de Welles, who also built the kitchen, bestowing great cost on these buildings.[5] His

[5] Martilogium Dec. et Cap. Linc. Cath. See also Giraldus Cambrensis, in Anglia Sacra, Pars 2da, p. 419 ; folio, 1691.

decease happened in 1234. Bishop Grosseteste does not appear to have occupied himself much in building, the spiritual duties of his high office in the church engrossing all his thoughts. He is said, however, to have built a hall, which I think was probably at Buckden Palace, in Huntingdonshire, where his death took place in 1253. The hall at Buckden, which was entirely pulled down during the period of the Commonwealth, resembled that of Lincoln Palace, being divided into a centre and two aisles, by pillars and arches, and having a large porch at the entrance vaulted with stone; but it was less than half the size of this.[6]

Bishop Henry de Burghersh, as we have already seen, embattled and fortified this palace; as he also did three others of his episcopal mansions, viz., that of Stow Park; Nettleham, near Lincoln; and Liddington, in Rutlandshire, where also was a park. His successor, Thomas Beke, is said, in some modern descriptions of the palace, to have added to its buildings, but this is erroneous; the arms of Bishop William Alnwick having been mistaken for those of Beke, being similar in form, but different in colour.[7]

Bishop Alnwick was translated from the see of Norwich to this of Lincoln in 1436, and here he presided until his decease about the end of the year 1449. He must have been a most liberal and active builder; for, besides what he had done at Norwich, he contributed much to the embellishment of the western towers and entrances of our cathedral, and particularly of the vestibule under the southern, or St. Hugh's tower. He also erected a new chapel in his palace, with the inner entrance tower, and several convenient rooms adjoining to the chapel. In short, Bishop Alnwick seems to have done more towards the improvement of the palace buildings than any prelate since its first erection.

[6] The Parliamentary Survey of Buckden Palace, made in 1647, describes the hall as being "twenty yards long, and twelve yards broad, about half covered with lead, the rest with stone slatt." The hall of Lincoln Palace is said by the survey to be "60 foote of assise in breadth, and 90 foote of assise longe." These rather exceed the actual dimensions, which were 84 feet by 58.

[7] The arms of Beke were gules, a cross sarcelly argent; those borne by Bishop Alnwick were argent, a cross sarcelly sable. This prelate's arms still remain sculptured on the doors of the tower built by him, and in other parts of the ruins; and the same shield was formerly painted in the windows of the palace.

The arms of Bishop William Smith, the founder of Brazenose College, at Oxford, still remaining over the outward gate, show that he made some reparations of the palace. He died in January, 1513-14.

Bishop John Longland, who presided over the see of Lincoln from 1521 to 1547, was the last prelate who was able to display the magnificent style of living which had heretofore been maintained by the Bishops of Lincoln. He, indeed, by giving way to the capricious measures of a tyrannical and sacrilegious prince, escaped destruction; but he saw his cathedral plundered; the abbeys, monasteries, and hospitals of his diocese destroyed; and he himself degraded by a participation in the shameful scenes of the successive royal marriages and divorces. The arms of France and England impaled with those of Howard, quartering Brotherton, &c., painted in the chapel and other apartments of the palace, were melancholy memorials of the visits of Henry the Eighth and his youthful bride Catharine Howard, in 1541, when the King made a progress to York, and was entertained at Lincoln by Bishop Longland. Here, in a cellar, as one historian asserts,[8] or in the Queen's chamber, as another version of the story runs, this unhappy young creature was accused of entertaining a long interview, during the night, with Thomas Culpepper, a gentleman of the Court, and her own maternal relation. The parties were not alone, and their conference might be perfectly innocent; but it was added to the other criminal allegations; and nothing short of torture and a cruel execution could satisfy the vengeance of Henry the Eighth.

Dr. Henry Rands, alias Holbeche, the immediate successor of Bishop Longland, was compelled by the ministers of the young king, Edward the Sixth, to give up almost all the episcopal estates, and to accept of impropriate tithes, a part of the plunder of the monasteries, in lieu of lands; a most inadequate exchange. He was married, and had a family to provide for; and therefore such a residence as the Palace of Lincoln was greatly above his means of living. Nettleham

[8] Burnet's Abridgment of the History of the Reformation, 2nd Edit. 8vo. 1683, p. 272. See Vol. iv. of Miss Agnes Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, p. 410. Edit. 1842.

Grange, or Manor-House, suited him better, and there he died in 1551.

After this period Lincoln Palace appears to have been much neglected; the bishops making Buckden their usual place of residence. In June 1617, when King James the First make a visit to Lincoln, he was entertained by Bishop Neale, at dinner in his palace, after his Majesty had heard a sermon preached by the bishop in the Minster, and had touched fifty persons for the cure of the King's Evil; but the royal lodgings were at St. Catharine's Hall, on the outside of the South Barr, then a mansion belonging to Sir Thomas Grantham, and formerly a Gilbertine Priory.

The celebrated prelate, Dr. John Williams, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Dean of Westminster, Precentor of Lincoln, &c., became Bishop of Lincoln in 1621; and about four years afterwards he undertook the repair of this palace, as well as that of Buckden. Lincoln Palace was then so greatly dilapidated that the bishop's biographer, Dr. Hacket, speaks of its reparation as a work of formidable expense; however, a thorough repair was accomplished in three years' time. Dr. Williams also purchased a collection of books for a library in this palace, and had timber prepared towards the building a room for this purpose, but this generous design was defeated by the troubles in which the bishop soon became involved; and in the disordered times that succeeded, the books were stolen, and the timber was taken for the fortification of the city. The destruction of this stately mansion speedily ensued.

At the commencement of 1643 the High Sheriff of the County was ordered to remove the prisoners out of Lincoln Castle, in order to the speedy fortifying of the same, and the Bishop's Palace was to be taken for a temporary prison. In 1647 three surveyors were sent by the trustees appointed by the Long Parliament for the sale of archbishops' and bishops' lands and possessions; the hierarchy of the Church of England having been abolished by an Act of the preceding year. The report of these surveyors, which is still preserved in the episcopal registry, gives a particular account of the palace as it then stood, with the items of

weight and measure of all the materials. This is an important document, without which it would be impossible to ascertain the appearance and form of the palace as it stood in its perfect state. A copy of the whole survey would far exceed the limits of this paper, and the information to be derived from it will be most conveniently taken in the course of the description of the several buildings.

I have not been able to discover how the palace was disposed of after the Parliamentary survey was made, nor whether any sale of it took place; but in 1660, that learned and respectable prelate, Dr. Robert Sanderson, succeeded to the possession of it, together with the other estates of his predecessors in the see of Lincoln; all the sales and alienations of church property made during the Commonwealth being declared void. Bishop Sanderson has left a brief record of the state in which he found these premises, as well as that of other parts of his possessions. Lincoln Palace had been stripped of its leaded roofs, and almost totally ruined. A house, then inhabited by Colonel James Berry, had been formed out of the chapel and the tower, with some rooms adjoining to it; the buildings of Bishop Alnwick. There was a stable with a coach-house then standing,[9] and a long building containing about eight rooms, which seems to have stood on the site of the modern house. The whole site is described as containing about three acres of land, which rather exceeds the true measure, of which about half an acre is contained in the lower garden. Dr. Sanderson repaired Buckden Palace, which had also been alienated, and grievously ruined, in the time of the Commonwealth; and from that period the Bishops of Lincoln made it their residence until the recent changes of the diocese, when Buckden Palace, including the noble brick tower built by Bishop Russell in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was abandoned and reduced to ruin;—too stern a measure for the lover of antiquity to look upon without regret.

Lincoln Palace appears to have remained in the same ruined

[9] This stable and coach-house were built on the west side of the hall, which had been then reduced to a ruin. These buildings are shown in Buck's Views taken in 1726. Their removal led to a discovery of the bay window, and of the remains of other windows of the hall.

state in which Bishop Sanderson found it, until the year 1726; when Dr. Richard Reynolds, then bishop, unfortunately gave leave to the dean and chapter to pull down the ruins, and take away stone for the repairs of the cathedral, during a period of three years. This permission had been sanctioned by the royal assent, and by a faculty from the Archbishop of Canterbury. It may be lamented as doubly unfortunate; for, not only were the ruins of this stately edifice reduced, and deprived of their characteristic ornaments, but the materials thus obtained were used in building up those clumsy arches and walls that obstruct the entrances into the cathedral, under the western towers.[1] In the beginning of the following year, 1727, the same bishop granted a lease of the premises to Edward Nelthorpe, doctor in medicine, then of the Close of Lincoln, for twenty-one years.

The lease sets forth that this ancient palace "is, and for many years last past has been, wholly ruinous and decayed, so that no part thereof has within time of memory been habitable, except a small dwelling-house, or tenement, now in the tenure of James Debiah, clerk; and whereas the said Edward Nelthorpe proposes and agrees to improve the said dwelling-house, or tenement, and premises, at his own cost and charges; so as to make the same more commodious for the bishops in the time of their said triennial visitations." The premises are then demised to Dr. Nelthorpe, "and so much of those buildings now ruined and decayed, called the Palace, or Bishop's Palace, as shall not be moved and carried away for the repairs or use of the cathedral church." The use of the house was reserved to the bishops, at the times of their visitations; and accordingly their lordships used to inhabit it on those occasions for a few days.

The house, or tenement, above mentioned, formerly inhabited by Colonel James Berry, and lastly by the Rev. James Debiah, was pulled down by Dr. Nelthorpe; only

[1] This tasteless work has been untruly ascribed to James Gibbs, the architect. Mr. John James was the person employed. The most offensive part, consisting of a low and heavy arch, with stone-work above it which blocked up the space between the towers, reaching quite up to the vaulting of the nave, was removed by Mr. James Essex, who substituted the light arch now standing in its place. The arms of Bishop Reynolds, carved and blazoned on a large shield, were set up in the centre of Mr. James's work, as a memorial of the bishop's liberality.

Bishop Alnwick's tower being left standing; and the present mansion was then erected. After the death of Dr. Nelthorpe, the lease was transferred, in 1738, to Mrs. Eliz. Amcotts. It was successively renewed from time to time, until the remaining term was sold to the present bishop, when his lordship came to reside near Lincoln, and took the palace into his own possession. Richard Smith, Esq., the bishop's registrar, is the present occupier of the palace; and under the care of this gentleman these interesting ruins of a once magnificent pile will be safely preserved from mischievous hands.

The peculiar situation of the palace, "hangginge in declivio," as Leland describes it, on the side of a steep hill, obliged the builders to accommodate their plans to different levels, so as to distribute the several apartments in convenient order. The original entrance was through a gate formed in the southern wall of the Bail, which must have made a very steep and inconvenient descent into the palace yard; this entrance was afterwards blocked up, when the enlargement of the Close towards the east allowed of the present approach being made. Probably this was the work of Bishop Henry de Burghersh, at the time when he embattled the palace. The outer gate bears the arms of Bishop William Smith, the founder of Braze-nose College, Oxford, who probably erected it in the reign of Henry the Seventh. The passage from this to the inner gate lies between the Cantilupe Chantry House, on the right hand, and the Court or College of the vicars-choral of the cathedral on the left. The inner gate was rebuilt lately by Charles Mainwaring, Esq., the last tenant of the palace whilst it was held on lease. And here I must beg leave to notice the liberality of this gentleman in the improvement of the premises, during the few years they were in his hands. An immense accumulation of rubbish, which blocked up the vaults and lower parts of the palace, was taken away. Some rude modern buildings were removed; and many parts of the ruined arches and walls were carefully repaired, in order to stay the destructive progress of time. The first building we meet with on entering the palace yard, containing the stables and coach-houses, was built by the

same gentleman. It stands immediately in front of the chapel, which was finally destroyed in Bishop Reynolds's time. Passing the beautiful remains of Bishop Alnwick's tower, we come to the great hall, which stands nearly in the centre of the whole area. The parliamentary surveyors have left us this description of its state in 1647.

"The Greate Hall is very faire, large, lightsome, and of stronge freestone buildinge, in good repaire, beinge 60 foote of Assise in breadth, and 90 foote of Assise longe; the forme of buildinge consisteth of one large middle allye, and two out Iles on eyther syde, with 8 gray marble pillars bearinge up the arches of freestone in the forme of a large church, having large and faire freestone windows very full of stories in paynted glasse of the kinges of this land. The fyre is used in the middle of the hall; the roofe of very stronge tymber covered all over with leade. The proporcon of yt is much lyke the bodye of Christe-church in London."

Greate Hall there.

This of yt selfe (by dividinge of yt) might make a dwellinge-howse with all convenient roomes for use.

The porch, as we are also told, had a fair chamber over it, with a chimney. The great bay window at the upper end of the hall was undoubtedly added by Bishop Alnwick; the few remains that were found of its mouldings corresponding exactly to those of his other works. This noble window was totally destroyed, and even its basement was covered by a range of stables, built in the time of the Commonwealth, which extended from the great porch at the south end of the hall, to the turret stairs at the north end. This building was removed by Mr. Mainwaring; who also opened the windows of the hall, which had been entirely walled up. The character of these windows will be best explained by the accompanying Plates, which have been drawn from fragments, measured and brought together with much thought and pains; nothing being left standing above the lower half of their height, excepting a remnant attached to a quoin of Bishop Alnwick's tower, which intrudes on the north-east angle of the hall, blocking up one window. It is probable that only the upper half of these windows was originally glazed; the lower lights being closed by boarded shutters, as was the case in many ancient halls and other apartments.

In winter time the shutters would be constantly closed, to keep out the cold air; and perhaps hangings of tapestry extended over the openings. It seems likely that the lower parts of these windows were walled up by Bishop Alnwick, when he built the bay window, and set up the portraits of the kings of England in stained glass, with legends in Latin verses, and many coats of arms; of which descriptions are still extant.

The six pillars of dark grey marble which sustained the roof are totally gone, but some fragments of their bases and capitals have been found, which show that each column consisted of a central pillar, with four smaller and four larger round shafts attached to it; the whole height of these pillars being about twenty feet, divided into two parts by central bands. The responds, or half-columns, at each end of the hall, are partly remaining; these rest upon projecting corbels. Two of the three doors with pointed arches, at the south end of the hall, opened into two pantries, and that in the middle into a passage which communicated with the kitchen. Over this passage, and the pantries on each side of it, was a spacious room, to which you ascended by a turret staircase at the south-west corner of the hall; and the chamber over the porch was entered by the same stairs. This room, which I take to have been the Great Chamber, an ordinary appendage to the hall in an ancient mansion, had two tall windows in the south front, with a fireplace between them; and there were two other windows at the east and west ends of the chamber. The roof, being a continuation of that over the hall, was supported by two stone arches, resting upon corbels of marble, and rose up in the centre into a lofty ridge.[2] We find from the survey that the passage from the hall to the kitchen, where it crossed the arched bridge, was flanked by two larders, above which a flat roof of lead extended from side to side, under the windows in the south

[2] See Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture, Vol. ii. 4to. 1836, p. 43, &c., for a description of the beautiful hall in the bishop's palace at Wells, built by Bishop Robert Burnell, who presided in that see from 1275 to 1292. It was built on a similar plan to this at Lincoln, but exceeded it in size, being thirty-one feet longer. The roof was plundered of its lead in the reign of Edw. VI., and one side has been pulled down in the course of some late *improvements*.

front of the Great Chamber. The kitchen had five fireplaces ;[3] of which only the back walls, faced with tiles, are yet standing. The fireplace in the south-west corner is deeply recessed in a circular form, and is very spacious. The roof of the kitchen was of timber, covered with lead, and rose up to a great height in the centre, in the form of an octagonal pyramid. Passing again through the hall, we come to two doors in the north-east corner, communicating with Bishop Alnwick's tower. The smaller door, strongly secured by bolts and straps of iron, leads to the foot of a staircase. The larger one opens into the vestibule, which is very neatly vaulted with ribbed arches. Opposite to this door is another, which led by an arched passage towards the chapel. The survey describes the chapel as "very faire, with seates and many other convenience, and very faire painted glasse windows." From other accounts we find that the windows contained many coats of arms, as well as figures of saints, and Latin rhymes recording its dedication by Bishop William Alnwick to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[4] At the west end of the chapel were two floors of rooms ; containing a study, with a lobby on the lower floor ; and a withdrawing-chamber, with a closet-pew looking into the end of the chapel, on the upper floor. These apartments communicated with the chamber over the vestibule in Bishop Alnwick's tower, over which was another chamber. All these buildings were constructed with the nicest regard to convenience ; and the mouldings and details of the doors, windows, &c., are very elegant. An engraved view of the north front, by Nathaniel Buck, in 1726, gives a pretty good idea of these buildings, as they had been left by the Parliamentary tenant in 1660. A tiled roof, with garret windows on its sides, had been put over the chapel, in place of the original lead covering. The tower was disfigured by

[3] Dr. Stukeley, in his Itinerarium Curiosum, says, the kitchen had *seven chimneys,* and this has been repeated by several later writers. Stukeley also speaks of "many large bow-windows of curious workmanship, looking over the tops of the lower city." P. 87. Edit. 1724. No traces of bow-windows remain on the south side of the palace ruins.

[4] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa. Folio, 1732. Book viii. p. 32. Notices of the painted glass, in the windows of the bishop's chapel and hall, may be found in the notes taken by Gervase Holles, Esq., in the time of Charles I., now among the Harleian MSS.

a similar addition, which is seen above the battlements. The chapel windows were divided into two heights, in order to suit the two stories of rooms which had been formed within it. The bay window over the door of Bishop Alnwick's tower was then entire, but its three lights appear to have been blocked up. Its projecting basement, which has since perished, was sculptured with the royal arms of France and England in the centre, with those of Bishop Alnwick on one side, and of the see of Lincoln on the other. The inside of this window, and the walls of the chamber to which it belongs, bear deep traces of fire, the walls having been made red-hot: but we know nothing of the time or other circumstances of this fire. The lofty gable at the south end of the hall range was yet standing entire, with two very high pinnacles at the sides, and a third in the centre, which formed the top of the chimney in the Great Chamber. Several other high chimney-shafts were also standing, which are now levelled. Passing through Bishop Alnwick's tower we enter into a narrow court, having the Great Hall on the west side, and a range of building on the east, in which was an apartment called, in the survey, the Little Hall, with a large dining-room beyond it, and further on a chamber called the study, which extended to the south-east corner of the palace. Under the chapel was a private dining-room, or parlour, the front of which looked into an inner court, and had a bay window projecting from the centre.[5] There were pantries, and cellars, with closets adjoining to this room, and winding stairs communicating with the apartments in the upper stories. At the lower end of the middle court stood a brick building, described in the survey as the lesser, or privy kitchen, and the pantry. Close to this building is a well.

Under the lesser hall and the adjoining rooms, were three

[5] This room was elegantly constructed, as we may perceive from the few details remaining of the stone work. The floor was laid with coloured tiles, of which some are yet left. A line of yellow tiles laid across the floor appears to have marked the *dais*, but without any step; the space beyond this line included about one-third of the room. At the eastern, or upper, end of the room is a pantry or buttery, with a vaulted roof, still entire. The fireplace on the north side is all destroyed, except some fragments of the jambs. At the west end was a table of stone, set in an arched recess, with two doors at the sides; one leading into a cellar, the other, by a passage curiously vaulted, into the Little Hall, and other apartments.

large vaults, yet standing, of which the uses can only be conjectured, as they are not specified in the Survey. They are all roofed with semicircular stone arches, and the biggest apartment has a large fireplace on the west side, and has been lighted and ventilated by small windows on both sides, placed very high. It has also a well at the upper end, in an arched recess; perhaps this vault may have been originally a brewhouse. On the west side of the middle court, at the lower end, is a flight of stone steps, very steep, ascending to the great kitchen. Beneath the kitchen is a room which is described in the survey as a brewhouse. The vaulted roof has fallen in. It evidently had a column in the centre; and, from certain marks on the walls, the original form of the arched roof, and also the entrance, must have been altered by some of the ancient builders. Opposite to this building, towards the north, is the principal cellar, which formed the basement of the south end of the hall-range, being under the Great Chamber and the two pantries, to which there was an ascent by winding stairs in the south-west turret. The roof of this cellar is vaulted, and groined in a bold and good style, with large moulded ribs, springing from corbels. The south end of the hall-range was separated by a space of thirteen feet from the kitchen, and the communication between the two buildings was made by an arched vault, or bridge, as it may be fairly termed; over which was a passage from the hall to the kitchen, with two larders on its sides, already noticed. The arch of this bridge is groined in the centre, and is decorated with moulded ribs, similar to those in the great cellar. All these lower parts of the buildings show an early style, very massive, and judiciously proportioned to their purposes. The west side of the vault under the kitchen bears marks of alteration, made subsequent to its original construction. There were two, or perhaps three, blank arches in the wall, sharply pointed, and resembling others on the inside of the vault, but not corresponding in breadth. These blank arches are partly covered by two great buttresses; one of enormous thickness. The biggest buttress, as well as some other parts of the buildings, have been patched with brickwork, which material may have been employed for

the sake of economy, when Bishop Williams repaired the palace in the reign of Charles the First. Westward from the kitchen there appears to have been a range of buildings that probably extended as far as the western wall of the palace; which might have been offices belonging to the kitchen department. These buildings, however, appear to have been taken down before the Parliamentary survey was made, as they are not described in it. The court where they stood, which now forms a flower-garden, lies on an intermediate level, below the principal court and the modern mansion on the north, but overlooking the gardens towards the south, where is now a terrace, supported by a high wall with handsome buttresses, built by Mr. Mainwaring. The south front of the kitchen-buildings, which rise to a great height on that side, is strengthened by two noble buttresses,[6] built with Ancaster stone, in fine large courses of masonry: these buttresses are evidently of later date than the original buildings, and perhaps were erected by Bishop Burghersh in the reign of Edward the Third. Returning to the upper court, we may notice that the south end of the modern house stands upon some remains of ancient building. The Parliamentary survey describes "a range of stone buildinge called the officers' lodgeinges, with a little stable at the end under, being built upon the Pallace wall upon the west syde thereof, towards the cittie; conteyninge 8 bayes of buildinge, and consistinge in all of roomes and chambers over, and garrets in the roofe, being 12 roomes." These *officers' lodgings* stood upon the ground occupied by the present mansion. The gateway in the western wall of the palace yard, a little beyond the north end of the house, was only modern, and is now blocked up. The arch of the original entrance through the great wall, which forms the boundary between the Bail, or to speak more properly, the Close, and the palace, may still be seen. This was the gate for which King Henry the First granted a license to Bishop Robert Bloet. It is a

[6] Mr. Gough speaks of "*three stout buttresses*" on the south front of the palace, which he ascribes to Bishop Williams [Camden's Britannia, 2nd Edit. 1806. Vol. ii. p. 372]. He is mistaken on both points. These buttresses were necessary to stop the sinking of that side of the buildings where the hill declines rapidly, making the foundations insecure.

plain semicircular arch, not quite six feet wide. Its jambs are buried in the mound at the base of the wall, up to the springing. Nothing can be seen of this gate on the north side of the wall, it being below the surface of the ground : but, from some remains of ancient fireplaces, it seems that there were rooms and chambers adjoining to the Close wall in this part. We may also notice that this gate stood exactly opposite to the great porch of the cathedral called Galilee, which would be the ordinary entrance into the church when the bishop came from his palace. In later times, when the eastern gate of the palace was formed, the bishop's entrance into the Minster would usually be through the beautiful porch on the south side of the presbytery.

In closing the account of the Bishop's Palace, which I am afraid may be thought tediously long, I need not make any observations on the various beautiful views over the city, and a wide expanse of distant landscape, nor of the many picturesque scenes which the ruins themselves afford ; nor, above all, is there any need to point out the matchless grandeur of the cathedral, which can nowhere be seen under more happy circumstances than when viewed from the Bishop's Palace.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE, LINCOLN.

1. Ground-plan, taken on the level of the Hall-floor. The oldest parts of the buildings are black ; those of more recent erection are shaded lighter ; and the destroyed portions are shown in outline only.

2. Vertical section, taken through the centre of the Hall and Kitchen, with the vaults beneath them, &c.

3. Elevation of the southern gable of the Hall-range. The two upper windows belonged to the Great Chamber. The tracery of these windows has so totally perished that a restoration of their original form would be very doubtful. Beneath these windows appears a door in the passage, leading from the hall to the kitchen, with two windows opening into the butteries ; and at the bottom are seen the arches of the *Bridge*, and three small lights,

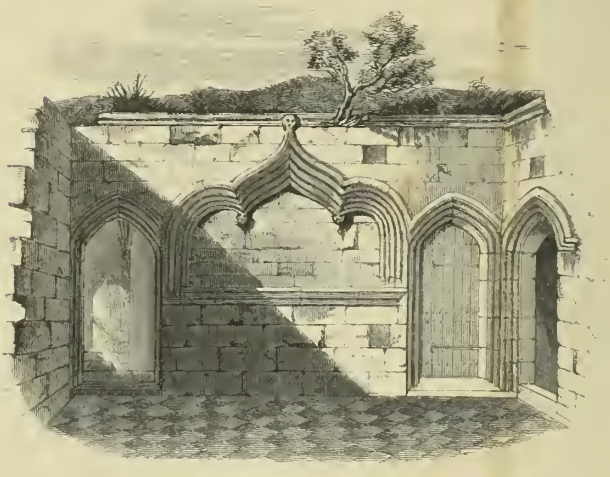
of the cellar. The upper parts of this front were destroyed in the last century, and have been here restored from Buck's Views.

4. External elevation of one bay of the Hall, showing a pair of the windows restored. The tracery, mullions, jambs, transoms, &c., were all of grey marble.

5. Elevation of the north front of Bishop Alnwick's Tower, with the chapel and rooms erected by that prelate, as restored from Buck's Views, and sketches made from the ruins.

6. Vignette.—The west end of the Dining-room, beneath the chapel, erected by Bishop Alnwick.

E. J. W.



ELEVATION OF ONE BAY OF THE HALL

THE PARLIAMENTS OF LINCOLN.

On a former occasion I endeavoured to show, whilst tracing the history of the Parliaments of York, the rise and gradual development of our English representative system, and it will, therefore, be only necessary at present to enter so far upon the result of those inquiries as will serve to connect them with the first Parliament assembled at Lincoln. A very brief reference to the leading features of that more extended investigation will be sufficient to link together the illustrations of those portions of our constitutional history which are conjointly supplied by the conventions held in these two important cities. Provincial assemblies being usually convoked under extraordinary emergencies, such as the pressure of financial difficulties, intestine grievances, or immediately impending war, they exhibit the most varied phases English nationality has presented. And we may reasonably expect to perceive these local councils faithful interpreters of the general voice of the age. By their help, perhaps more distinctly than we can by aid of the discussions carried on at the metropolitan seat of legislation, we shall be able to follow every progressive change in our political system, so as to pursue it from a state of ill-instructed servitude, when nature struggled against barbarism, and humanity walked blindfolded, to the principles on which government should rest, till we reach a period of social progress, when men began to grow inspired by fervent patriotism, and liberty directed their footsteps as the visible spirit.

It was not until the close of the reign of Henry the Third,[1] that the first writs of general summons to Parliament were issued by the Crown, and on this occasion York and Lincoln were the only two cities actually named as required to

[1] 49 Hen. III (1265).

return two burgesses. Even far on in the ensuing reign, the mode of election was extremely uncertain, and we can but very faintly observe the rude outlines of an infant system slowly unfolding itself. Nothing seemed fixed or decisive. The regulations under which the knights were called to Parliament were far from being determined until the twenty-third year of Edward the First (1295), when, for the first time in his Parliament at Westminster, we catch the dawn of an attempt to construct a regular and legitimate mode of representation. The Parliament, for instance, was now composed of three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual and temporal, knights and burgesses, acting under the King. Perhaps this extension of the number of representatives, comprehending even the inferior orders of the clergy, may be mainly attributed to the pecuniary necessities of the Crown. But from whatsoever cause it originated, we cannot help being struck by the sudden change of policy which it displays towards the subject. The tone of language, also, in the preamble of the writs, which had before been cold and exclusive, all at once breathes the temper of equity and conciliation. It is imbued with the highest feeling of legal responsibility, and asserts, as an axiom never to be lost sight of by rulers and statesmen, that the justest law decrees that what concerns the common good should have universal approbation. These ideas of moral reciprocity disclose an instinctive sense of what is truly right and noble in the science of legislation, and after such an exposition of regal duties, we are prepared for the further extension of electoral privileges, to witness a voluntary union betwixt the King and his subjects, and an enthusiastic readiness of a devoted people to rescue the monarch out of any difficulties by which he might be surrounded. They are sentiments which, so far from betraying monarchical timidity, evince, on the contrary, political prudence and patriotic circumspection, and in our own aspirations for liberty, we shall do well to remember the mutual obligations imposed upon governors and those who are taught to render obedience, for without this we shall never be entitled to the sacred bequest.

The time when these regulations came into operation was

one of great national embarrassment. Edward had been engaged in constant warfare with Scotland, and his subjugation of that kingdom was far from being completed. Added to this, serious misunderstanding existed betwixt himself and Philip of France, who, profiting by the present difficulties, had taken an opportunity of seizing the kingdom of Guienne, and moreover had formed an offensive alliance with the Scots, Various were the decisions of conflict for some years, as the battles of Berwick, Dunbar, and Stirling afford mournful proof, since the trophies of victory carried away from the two former fields of glory were as speedily lost at Stirling as they had been won. The fight of Falkirk (1298) caused for a short time a cessation of these fatal contentions, though it became the means of introducing a new claimant to the Scottish kingdom. In its peril, the nation had besought the intervention of Pope Boniface the Eighth, and desiring to live under his protection, they had charged their ambassadors to offer him the sovereignty. A pontiff, whose character more than others has been described as imperious and ambitious, required little solicitation to induce compliance with this favourable opportunity of temporal advancement. With eagerness he at once closed with the tempting offer, and on the strength of the invitation, and by a very novel process of reasoning, asserted boldly these new claims to the kingdom. The Pope had been accustomed to consider himself above all worldly dignities—monarchs and princes were contumeliously regarded as his vassals or dependants ; and having exacted implicit obedience from the King of France, refused confirmation to the Emperor of Germany, and pronounced the King of Denmark a rebel, he readily assured himself of receiving the same complacent submission in this new field of his supremacy.

In the vain confidence of such credulity, he addressed, through a willing minion, John Archbishop of Canterbury, a Bull to King Edward,[2] in which he reminded him that the kingdom of Scotland had always belonged, as it still did, to the Church of Rome. He could not be ignorant, he said, that its temporalities from the earliest ages appertained to the

[2] July 28th, 27 Edw. I. (1299).

Apostolic See, and he proceeded to justify this arrogant assumption amongst other pleas on the grounds of Scotland having been converted to the faith by the venerable relics of St. Andrew. Nor was the preference of these claims the whole of his demand, since he constituted himself judge in all matters of controversy betwixt the English and Scotch, and ordered the King to nominate ambassadors to Rome within six months at the latest, when if he could establish a proper title to any part of Scotland, the Holy See would deliver its final sentence.

A proceeding doubtlessly advised by the emissaries of Scotland, but stamped with all the insolence and duplicity of an usurper, roused Edward to a sense of the precarious tenure of his recent acquisitions. Already he felt them eluding his grasp, and now more than ever he had need to exercise the vigour and resources of his comprehensive mind. With Philip of France he was driven to conclude a hasty but not dishonourable peace. Did he, however, shrink from the impending storm, or like that mean-spirited potentate ignobly quail under the fear of papal displeasure? Rather inspired with fresh energies, and warmed to active resistance, he resolved perfectly to execute his conquest, swearing, in his towering wrath, that if he heard again of these inordinate pretensions, he would utterly exterminate the Scots from sea to sea. The envoys, animated with equal impetuosity, replied in turn, that ere matters could arrive at such a fearful pass, there were none of their countrymen who would hesitate to shed their blood.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was charged with the delivery of the papal missives, adjured his royal master to yield unreserved submission to the Pope, since Jerusalem, he said, would not fail to protect her citizens, nor Mount Zion her worshippers; to whom the lofty-hearted monarch, in the indignant spirit of wounded majesty, answered, that whilst there was breath in his nostrils, neither for Zion nor Jerusalem would he desist from his intentions, or cease from defending with all his power those rights which were notorious to the whole world.

This unusual aspect of affairs was universally regarded as

one of common danger: for not merely was the honour and dignity of the Crown in peril, but the actual independence of the English nation. Edward having learned to identify his personal interests with those of his people, had looked upon the representative system as the foundation of national strength. He had already ceased to isolate himself in regal solitude, and begun to govern the country by the unfettered voice of his Parliaments. In such assemblies freely chosen he had been habituated to seek for council and support in his difficulties, and regarding his military feudatories and his barons only as a component portion of his subjects at large, he found all classes prepared to unite together for the general security when their co-operation was needed. With such enlarged view of his duties, when he received the Papal Bull from the hands of the Metropolitan, he wrote a dignified reply, stating that it was the custom of the English kingdom in every matter touching the welfare of the realm to require the advice of all those persons who were interested, and there being many prelates, nobility, and other influential persons then absent from the army, it would be necessary to consult them before he was capable of returning a conclusive answer.

Immediately after this epistle was drawn up he disbanded his men-at-arms, and spent a fortnight in privacy at the Abbey of Holmcoltram, on the borders. About the middle of September he passed southwards to Rose Castle, and having by this time matured his plans, he associated the present Episcopal Palace of Carlisle with a lasting degree of interest, by issuing from thence his writs of summons for a great, "general" Parliament to be held at Lincoln on the octaves of St. Hilary in the ensuing year, when the pretensions of the See of Rome to the kingdom of Scotland were to be fully considered.

The preamble of the writs addressed to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, recites, that as lately the King had granted for the common utility of his people that the Great Charter of the Forest should be observed in all its articles, that as persons had been assigned to make perambulation, and returns been made by them, yet since by reason

of the absence of those by whose advice he meant to be guided he had hitherto been unable to act upon the report, he wished, as well by the assistance of his ecclesiastics and magnates, as by others of the community, to inquire fully into the question. He also desired to deliberate (habere colloquium et tractatum) upon certain arduous affairs concerning the state of the realm.

In this preamble there appears a clause of much importance, since it shows how completely Edward considered the obligations of the nobility to be identified with his own, in observing and upholding the laws of the kingdom. Its language expressly states as much by saying that they were bound to his side by the chain of an oath to observe and maintain with himself the rights of the Crown and realm.[3] Special writs were sent to several deans, abbots, and priors, enjoining them diligently to search in all the chronicles, archives, and secret muniments of their houses for information touching the kingdom of Scotland.[4] Besides the usual writs to knights and burgesses, other special writs were directed to those who had attended in the former Parliament at Westminster,[5] but if any of them should happen to be dead or infirm, so as to be prevented from attending at the time appointed, the sheriffs were authorised to cause another individual to be elected in their stead: all of whom, moreover, were to have their reasonable expenses paid for going to, and returning from, the Parliament.[6] In addition to the provisions embodied in the writ of summons, the Close Roll of the following year contains a similar order of allowance to the knights and others who attended on the occasion.[7] Besides the two archbishops, eighteen bishops, eighty abbots, the masters of Sempringham, the Temple, and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, there were summoned to this assembly, eighty-nine knights and barons, forty-six representatives from those counties where there were forests, and twenty-six where there were none; the two justices of the forests north and south of Trent; sixteen masters learned in the law; twenty-

[3] Parl. Writs, p. 88; Rep. Dig. Peer. p. 112.

[4] Parl. Writs, p. 92.

[5] March 6th, 28 Edw. I. (1300).

[6] Dated at Nettleham, Jan. 30th, Rot. Claus. 29 Edw. I. m. 17 d.

[7] Dated at Nettleham, Jan. 30th, Rot. Claus. 20 Edw. I. m. 17 d.

two of the council; the chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, with a few from both universities who were skilled in the written law: altogether there were upwards of three hundred individuals summoned to the Parliament of Lincoln, who for aristocratical position, ecclesiastical, military, or legal influence, or as being the popular organs of the general voice of the country, fully embodied the power of giving utterance to the universal feeling of England upon the momentous question for which they were convened.

The forest laws had been a perpetually recurring cause of exasperation and dispute from a very early period. The formation of these vast royal inclosures dated from so remote a time, that neither history nor records make mention of their beginning. Tradition itself has been lost in the sylvan labyrinth of their primeval antiquity. The complaints of the people, however, run concurrently with the earliest allusions to their existence. Hence we hear unceasing remonstrances against the severe regulations by which they were governed. The difficulty of determining their uncertain boundaries, and the mode of obtaining redress in the courts of the Chief Justice in Eyre, or in the various subordinate ones of attachment, swainmote and regard, were looked upon as heavy oppressions and hindrances to relief. The second year after Henry the Third ascended the throne (1217), the barons obtained from his guardians, since he was then under age, some remission of the rigour by which the forest laws were administered. Seven years afterwards he granted a confirmation of these charters himself, and for a repetition of this valuable concession in the twenty-first year of his reign (1237), the people gave him an extraordinary aid of a thirtieth of their moveables. When Edward the First reconfirmed them in the twenty-fifth (1297), twenty-seventh (1299), and twenty-eighth (1300) years of his reign, the charter granted on the first occasion recites the important provision, that the aids which had been made to the King in consequence, for his wars, or for other purposes, were to be taken as the grant of the people's free-will,[8] and not to be drawn into a precedent. In a Parliament held in the twenty-eighth year, the King directed a

[8] Rep. Dig. Peer. p. 228.

general perambulation of these demesnes; but not having been completed when the assembly broke up, he now commanded the sheriffs to proclaim throughout their bailiwicks, that all those who had lands or tenements within the bounds of the forests in their respective jurisdictions, and who desired to complain of the perambulation, should come before the King in his Parliament at Lincoln, and set forth their grievances.

The more urgent business, however, for transaction, was the reply to be given to the demands of Boniface the Eighth upon the kingdom of Scotland. After the Bull had been read, much angry discussion ensued as to the kind of answer the King should return; or whether, in fact, he should so far compromise his dignity as to condescend to offer any. The various bearings of the question were debated in a series of comprehensive propositions, more especially whether the King should appoint messengers to the Pope, to assert and defend the English title to the kingdom of Scotland. Even to entertain the subject would, it was argued, bring into doubt his just authority over that realm; on the other hand, the future intervention of the Papal See could hardly be expected, in the event of quarrels arising betwixt England and Scotland, if Edward should now decline entering upon the cause of contention. Again, the Pope was judge in his own cause, and therefore danger might arise from sending a secular envoy, who might be unwittingly entrapped by the subtle questions of his Holiness, and so exceed his injunctions. After these, amongst various other points, had been maturely considered by this large body of representatives, they terminated the discussion by drawing up an epistle to the Pope, in which they told him, that the King of England had immemorially enjoyed the right of sovereignty over Scotland, as its liege lord, and that at no time whatsoever, or by any kind of title, had its temporalities pertained to the See of Rome. The unanimous judgment of Parliament would never permit these rights to be called in question hereafter, or that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. And lastly, most strenuously asserting their resolution to defend them, they requested the Pope to allow them the full exercise of their ancient privileges.

Two copies of this memorable declaration of spiritual and temporal peers, barons, and commons assembled at Lincoln, in the twenty-ninth year of Edward I. (1301), still exist amongst the documents pertaining to the Chapter House at Westminster, several of the seals affixed to both of them being yet perfect. It is doubtful whether a third copy of this letter was ever transmitted to Rome, and probably these two were made for the purpose of keeping one, and sending the other; though some persons have inferred that Edward intended this manifesto as much an appeal to the public mind at home, as against the apostolic authority. The size of the documents is about eighteen inches by twelve. Of the original seals, now detached, which are interesting to the eyes of the curious, and may possibly possess a higher value, fifty-seven are described as in good, and three others in very good condition. A hundred of them were engraved by the Society of Antiquaries in the "Vetusta Monumenta," and the whole are fully described in the eighth report of the deputy keeper of the public records.[9] Three months afterwards the King himself addressed a long and elaborate epistle to the Pope, in which he took a less convincing line of argument, by attempting to show from the visionary genealogies of monkish historians, that Scotland had always been dependent on the English Crown from the fabulous ages of Brutus, first King of Albion.

There are several points of antiquarian interest so intimately connected with this Parliament, and, at the same time, so vividly illustrative of the habits of the period when it sat, that a passing notice of them may perhaps not intrusively be introduced. They are gathered chiefly from the original accounts of Hugo de Bussey, who, being sheriff of Lincolnshire, when the body of representatives assembled, was officially charged with making arrangements for their maintenance. From these documents, the respective items of which are entered with singular minuteness, a practice entirely accordant with the usual tenor of all contemporary accounts, we learn that the bailiffs of Kesteven, Holland, Northorpe, Calceworth, Candleshou, Wester, and other districts, were charged

[9] App. ii. No. 9.

with the carriage of all the corn, oats, and malt, carcases of oxen, sheep, and pigs, consumed on the occasion. The sum of carriage from these different divisions of the county amounted to nearly 17*l.* One extract will serve to exhibit the general nature of the entries:—"Walter de Auclound seeks payment for four carcases of oxen, and ten carcases of mutton, carried by land from Bourn to Lincoln, for thirty miles, two shillings and eightpence." From another bill of particulars it appears that the sheriff delivered to Walter Waldeshef, the King's baker, 356 quarters and two bushels of corn, for making bread; eighty-three quarters and six bushels at an advanced price, and ninety quarters and two bushels of malt. To the clerk of the kitchen he delivered oxen, pigs, and sheep, to the value of 77*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* He paid the clerk of the market, for oats for the horses during the months of January, February, and March, A.D. 1301, 139*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.*; making, under these heads, without the carriage, a sum total of 323*l.* 9*s.* 5½*d.*

Again, he disbursed to divers creditors of the King, in the same county, during the sitting of the same Parliament, for its provisioning, and various other expenses, such as oats and fish, 117*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, besides a payment to two clerks of 7*l.* 16*s.*, for making the prescribed provision (provisionem præscriptam).

Another compotus for flesh and fish, corn, firewood, and hay, amounts to 226*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*, so that the sheriff's rolls alone contain particulars of the indispensable requisites of life to the amount of upwards of 700*l.* Nor was this the whole charge returned to the exchequer, as we have payments to the amount of 57*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* for brushwood, coal, salt, and other necessaries, for the use of the scullery, besides the cost of 3121 gallons of ale, at 1*d.* per gallon, drank between Sunday, the 19th of February, and the 1st day of March inclusive, which would be the liberal allowance of about one gallon per day to each representative during the eleven days on which he sat. Stephen Stanham, a merchant of the city, who had been elected one of its representatives, had also a demand against the royal wardrobe of 96*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* for sugar, figs, and other articles; of 54*l.* 10*s.* in the office of

the cook for fish; and of 6*l.* 16*s.* for herrings and stockfish supplied for the entertainment of Edward, the King's son, then scarcely seventeen, during the month of February.

There were also disbursements to coachmakers and saddlers; and it appears by the bills of particulars that fifty-one horses and fifteen chariots were purchased at a cost of 21*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

From these bills we learn the prices of the respective supplies to have been as follows:—Wheat stood at 4*s.* a quarter; malt at 3*s.* 2*d.*; sheep at 1*s.* 6*d.*; oxen at 2 marcs; pigs varied from 2*s.* to 4*s.*; John Hayward paid for his cart and four horses 5 marcs; Roger, the door-keeper, gave 10*s.* for his horse; William, clerk of the royal chapel, 34*s.*; and master Peter, the surgeon, went as high for his as 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Then, again, the writs of privy seal are in existence,[1] addressed to the sheriff of Lincolnshire from Dumfries (October 28th, 28 Edw. I., 1300), ordering him to provide 400 quarters of corn, 400 quarters of barley, 1000 quarters of oats, and as much hay as was necessary for 400 horses for a month; and 100 cows and oxen, 100 pigs, and 300 sheep, against the meeting of Parliament. Another writ, tested the 9th of November, at Carlisle,[2] enjoins the same individual to procure in his bailiwick 400 quarters of corn, 100 beves, sixty live pigs, and 400 sheep, for the use of the royal hostel, and to deliver the 400 quarters of corn aforesaid to Walter Waldeshef, and to well salt the 100 beves and 400 sheep aforesaid, and place them in the larder at Lincoln.

By referring to the bailiff's accounts for carriage, it appears that the delivery and the purchase of these various provisions closely tally with the order in the King's writs. The number of quarters of corn, of pigs, and carcases of meat, very nearly, and the number of sheep exactly agree.[3]

All the requisite arrangements for transacting the business were not yet, however, completed. The King, therefore, under a similar writ of privy seal,[4] tested on the 2nd day of December,[5] at Worksop, enjoined the sheriff to procure in

[1] See Note A at end. [2] See Note B at end. [3] See Note C at end.
[4] See Note D at end. [5] 28 Edw. I.

his bailiwick sixty dozens[6] of good parchment, necessary for recording the various business which would come under consideration; and before the assembly broke up the King issued a writ for procuring four-score dozens[7] more of the best quality, which an entry on another bill shows to have been intended for the use of John de Langeton, the Chancellor.[8]

It is unnecessary to follow these illustrations any farther,[9] nor would they indeed have been so diffusely examined, had it not appeared that they contained in themselves the means of elucidating something more than merely plans for provisioning the Parliament; since they throw some light on the value of agricultural produce at a period of great political excitement; they show the expenses attendant upon drawing together so large a body of representatives (if they were not actually fed at the national charge), and furnish an incidental proof that several of the members of Parliament elected from the community were those whom honest exertion had raised to importance in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, and whose industrial avocations qualified them for taking, if not the most refined view of their legislative duties, one at least originating from practical acquaintance with business.

It has been already observed that when Edward summoned this Parliament, he was in the north of England. In his journey southward, he rested at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Doncaster, in the month of November, 1300. At Worksop, Newstead, and Wykington, the early part of December. From the 22nd of this month, to the 11th of January, 1301, he was at Northampton. He then passed on to King's-cliffe for the purpose of hunting in Rockinghamshire Forest. On the 24th he was at Wellingborough (Wendlingburg), and the day following at the Royal Palace of Nettleham, close to Lincoln. He staid here till the 12th of February, when he took up his quarters within the city, constantly remaining here till the 4th of March, when he again left the county by way of Grantham for Northampton.

[6] There was only payment demanded for fifty-nine, at 5*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*

[7] Payment was made 101 dozens and four skins, 7*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*

[8] See Note E at end.

[9] These documents, with the accounts of Hugo de Bussey, are preserved at Carlton Ride.

In alluding to these transactions, a rhyming chronicler of the period, Peter Langtoft (p. 312), says—

> "At the Pask afterward, his Parlement set he,
> The gode King Edward, at Lyncoln his cité.
> At Sant Katerine hous the Erle Marschalle lay,
> In the brode gate lay the Brus, Erle was he that day;
> The Kyng lay at Netilham, it is the Bisshopes toun,
> And other Lordes there cam in the cuntre up and doun."

In addition to the forementioned business exercising the attention of Parliament, a statute for escheators was passed, and a few petitions were heard, but which being unimportant, they may pass without further comment; there was also a grant of six years' pavage for the city.[1] There were, however, some questions involved in the discussion upon the forest perambulation, which call for a more detailed notice, because they declare the origin of a system of granting supplies, and redressing grievances, which has continued to our own time.

The King, as has been previously observed, wished the perambulation to be shown to the "bones gentz" who came to the Parliament, and when they should have examined in what manner it had been made, and, at the same time, considered the evidences which he understood could be produced on his behalf, if they advised that it should stand, and he could assent to their judgment without violating the coronation oath and disinheriting the Crown, he wished the survey to continue good. If matters stood in need of reformation, it should be done in such a convenient manner as they should provide; or, if this was not agreeable, some medium course should be devised, so that, with due regard had to their allegiance, and the oath of the King respecting his rights, the dignity of the Crown might be saved.

Let us now carefully mark the reply to this cautiously guarded stipulation, since it evinces the nascent germ of that healthy and vigorous tone of thought which has always constituted the proud characteristic of an independent representative. The "genz de la communauté de la terre" replied that they dared not answer which of the two ways should be adopted, on account of the perils that might ensue, and they

[1] Rot. Pat. 29 Edw. I. m. 25, dated Lincoln, February 26th.

immediately availed themselves of the opportunity to present to the King twelve several articles. They required a confirmation of the two great charters, of the Franchises and the Forest; that all the statutes opposed to them should be repealed; that the powers of the justices in guarding these charters of liberties should be defined; that the perambulations should be completed before the ensuing Michaelmas; in consideration of which they offered him, supplies and redress always going together, a fifteenth instead of a twentieth, as recently granted from their moveables, but coupling the proposal with the reserve, that if the survey was not finished by that time, then the contract on their part should become void.

The language of his writs (tested February 11th, 30 Edw. I.) shows the view he took, by stating, that although in the form of taxation sent to the commissioners, it was his intention that the spiritual goods of the clergy should not be assessed, he declared by this writ his intention that all temporal goods, as well of ecclesiastical as of secular and other persons, should contribute.[2]

To eight of the most important articles of the bill the King gave express consent, and the four others met with conditional acceptance. When, however, the matter of taxation was canvassed by the clergy, they demurred, on the plea of not daring to make their contribution without the sanction of the Pope, a resolution approved by the community, but as may be naturally expected, very far from being agreeable to the King, who could have no particular affection for Boniface the Eighth, whilst he had also immediately before him the prospect of requiring assistance for Scottish and continental war.

Other Parliaments in the ninth (1316) and tenth (1316) years of Edward the Second; though both in the same year, in the months of January and July, 1316; and in the second year of Edward the Third, were convened at Lincoln, but none of them, excepting the first of the three, has seemed sufficiently interesting in its proceedings to invite a similar prolixity of examination. Having stated then that the chief feature of local concern in this Parliament, which sat twenty-

[2] Rep. Dig. Peer. p. 240.

five days, was the payment of a fine of 300*l.*, for a confirmation of the city charters and an extension of privileges, it would be more convenient to refer the reader for its fuller investigation to the Report of the Dignity of the Peerage, and to Parry's Parliaments and Councils of England,[3] more especially as it will demand an abstract and dry inquiry into questions of constitutional history, which can be more profitably studied in those volumes than read in the present narrative.[4]

But, if there be indeed historical associations connected with these inquiries, capable of animating our feelings, and linking the impressions received from our forefathers with the

[3] The Parliament sat in the hall of the Dean, and the Clerk of Chancery drew up a record of the proceedings. On Friday, 13th Feb., the prelates and proceres met in the Chapter House. The Parliament sat from 27th Jan. to 20th Feb., 1316. The circumstances of this Parliament are detailed at length by Mr. Parry, as being more formally and regularly recorded than the proceedings in any former Parliament, as well as being in themselves interesting. See Parry, pp. 80, 81. The proceedings of this very important Parliament, which was convened for the purpose of supplying an army for the King's service in Scotland, may be used to show what was then deemed the constitutional law with respect to giving aid to the Crown, and on what principles the constitution of Parliament for such purposes was founded. —Rolls of Parliament, vol. i., pp. 350—356. Report Dignity of the Peerage, vol. i., pp. 272—277. Parl. Writs., vol. ii., pp. 171—174.

[4] *Instruments dated at Lincoln.*

29 Edw. I.

Restoration of land in Scotland to Alan La Zouche.

Restoration of lands to Matilda, widow of Robert Corbet.

Admittance of Adam de Bothum to bail, for death of John Parker.

Restoration of land to Prior, &c., of Christ Church, which land had been held of the said Prior by Gilbert Iweyn, who was hanged for felony.

Walter de Gloucester, the King's Escheator, is not to interfere at present with the lands late of Roger Le Sauvage, deceased.

Warden of the forest of Deane to give Peter de Insula, Archdeacon of Wells, ten oaks, and ten to Philip Martel.

Walter de Gloucester is not to interfere with lands of Richard de Grey, deceased.

Restoration of land to Richard de Culnaz, of Tyndale.

Order for assignment of Dower to Margery, widow of John Fag.

Friars Minors of Colchester six dry oaks for firing.

Roger Le Bigod ordered to meet the King at Berwick-upon-Tweed with horses, arms, "magnifice et decenter munitus," to go against the Scotch.

William de Byrlay, parson of church of Warsop, to have ten oaks in the King's park of Clipston, fit for timber.

Eustace de Hacche exhibited a petition "in Parliamento nostro apud Lincoln" that the arrears of wages owing to him for services in Gascony, might be allowed in the debts which he owed the King.

Sheriff of Southampton to have forty oaks in the forest of Pamberc, to repair the houses in the Castle of Winton.

Persons appointed to make provision for the King's journey into Scotland.

Bishops of Worcester and Exeter, and Abbots of Evesham, Tewkesbury, Winchcomb, Pershore, Abingdon, &c., ordered to be present with the King at the interment of the body of Edmund, late Earl of Cornwall, in the monastery of Hailes, on Thursday before Palm Sunday.

Summons of nobles and others, to join Edward, Prince of Wales, at Carlisle, to go against the Scotch.

quiet experience of maturer life, we must not forget, under the impulse of enthusiasm, or among the angry strife of party conflict, that the value of all these early acquired rights, which ancestral virtue so vigorously fought for, mainly depends upon the prudence that modifies their resistance to social progress, and the circumspect resolution by which they are retained. Time has cast its hallowed mantle over their rude and imperfect frame, and it should be the work of successive ages only, to improve or adorn its features. Without, however, wandering into any of those theories which have divided the human mind into contention and civil discord, and spread the delusive mists of uncertainty over what is consistent and solid in our political fabric, we may not, in conclusion, irrelevantly inquire what are the just inferences to be drawn from the foregoing narrative.

The first thing that excites our attention is the reply returned in universal and voluntary concord to the Pope's demand upon Scotland; which answer not only established the sovereignty of King Edward and his successors on the throne to the fullest extent over that kingdom, but also embodied, in a spirited protest against the usurpation of Boniface, a resolute determination to resist his claims. Though later enactments have, in great measure, concealed the twofold agitation of this and similar questions from view, and echoed with the same voice the terms of international intercourse, as established betwixt the Courts of England and Rome, the principles on which the relationships are founded, really date from the time of the Plantagenets. Even so far back as the reign of Henry the Third, John Bracton, a most eminent lawyer, declared that the King was head of the state, a legal aphorism which no one conversant with the spirit of the English government will presume to call in question.

Yet on this very epistle, so memorable as it is for the ardent spirit of nationality breathing throughout, claims have been founded within a very recent period, which could tend to limit the royal prerogative; attempts having been made to use it as important evidence to establish titles to peerage by reason of tenure; and assertions having been advanced

that all the persons whose names appear in the instruments were as earls and barons of the places in connexion with their names, summoned as such to the Parliament of Lincoln, though the signatures of no less than thirty-four of their number do not occur on the roll of writs of summons to that assembly, and though there exists no evidence, as far as the labours of a committee on the dignity of the peerage were able to discover, that some of the persons so named were ever called to any Parliament before or after this period.

Further endeavours have been made, on the strength of these signatures, to prove a sitting in Parliament under a writ. Both these questions have, however, been reported upon by the same official body, and are now placed beyond the reach of future controversy.

The only remaining inductions to be drawn from the transactions of this Parliament are purely of a constitutional kind. Such, for instance, as its being called a General Parliament, and that they whose names were inserted in, and whose seals were affixed to, the letter, appear to have assumed a power of addressing the Pope for themselves and the whole community, without the open show of any delegated authority to do so from the knights, citizens, and burgesses then met together. This, however, might have happened in consequence of the signatures of the most influential portion of representatives being deemed sufficiently weighty and authoritative in themselves as to make others unnecessary; or because the commonalty were engaged more particularly in drawing up and discussing the bill of twelve provisions.

And, lastly, we find that the King granted for himself and his heirs, that if any statutes were contrary to the Great Charter of Liberty, confirmed and amplified by his father, and the Charter of the Forest, or to anything contained in them, such defects should be amended in due form by the common council of the realm, or even annulled;[5] thus referring to a method, as to an established precedent, by which laws binding the whole kingdom were framed. It was this comprehensive power of thought on the part

[5] Charters of Liberties, p. 44.

of Edward the First that guided the gradual development of legislation; the resources of his own genius, and his unity of purpose, enabled him to amalgamate the discordant elements of despotism, popular feeling, and feudality, and to create in their stead that political fusion of different ranks, and that spirit of moral reciprocity, which has been at once the support and ornament of the English constitution.

NOTES TO THE PARLIAMENTS OF LINCOLN.

Note A.

Edward par la grace de Dieu Roi Dengleterre Seigneur Dirlaunde ⁊ Ducs Daquitaine: au visconte de Nicol saluz. Pur ce quil nous couient auoir g^{a}nt estor de totes manieres de viures a Nicol pur nr̃e ꝑchein parlement q̃ nous y bioms tenir: vous mandoms q̃ hastiuement veues ces lettres no^{o} faciez purueer deinz vr̃e baillie. cccc. quarts de fourment. cccc. quarts de brees mil quarts dauenne ⁊ tant de feijn come couendra pur. cccc. cheuaux par on mois et. c. boefs ⁊ vaches. c. porcs ⁊. ccc. moutons ⁊ les faciez bien garder ⁊ sauu tant q̃ vous eueiez autre mandement de nous. E faites faire bones endentures entre vous ⁊ touz ceux de qui les dites purueances serront prises qui conteignent les choses purueues ⁊ leur pris, issint q̃ nous enpeussoms faire faire leur gre duement de nr̃e Garderobe q^{a}nt nous y vendroms au dit parlement. Doñ sous nr̃e p^{i}ue seal a Dumfres le. xxviij. iour Doctobre. Lan de nr̃e regne vint ⁊ oijtisme. (A.D. 1300.)

(In dorso) P^{i}mū br̃e.

Note B.

Edward par la grace de Dieu Roi Dengleterre seigneur Dirlaunde ⁊ Ducs Daquitaine: au visconte de Nicole saluz. Nous vous mandoms fermement enioignantz q̃ hastiuement veues ces lettres faciez porueer denz vr̃e baillie cccc. quartiers de forment c. beefs

lx. porcs vifs ⁊ cccc motons por les despens de nr̃e houstiel. Et les. cccc. quartiers de forment auant dit3 facie3 liuerer a Wauter Waldeshef nr̃e pestour porteur de ces lettres por les faire fornir contre nr̃e parlement sicome nous li auoms en charge3. Et les c. boefs ⁊ cccc. motons auantdit3 facie3 bien salier ⁊ mettre en lardier a Nicole en due manere, si q̃ nous les eoms prestement a nr̃e venue illueques. Et ce ne leisse3 sicome vous vole3 q̃ nous ne soioms deserui3 par vr̃e defaute. Et les coustages qui vous y mettre3 vous feroms allouer duement en vr̃e aconte ou paer de nr̃e Garderobe. Doñ sou3 nr̃e p'ue seal a Cardoill le. ix. iour de Nouembre lan de nr̃e regne vint ⁊ oijtisme.

(In dorso) Sc̃dm br̃e.

Note C.

Pateat vniu̅sis p presentes q̃d Ego Joh̃es de Langefford cl̃icus d̃ni Regis recepi de Hugoñ de Bussy vic̃ Linc̃ viginti septem libras sterlingoz ⁊ ad diu̅sas puisiones ip̃ius d̃ni Regis faciend De quib3 quid viginti septem libris p᷑ dc̃m Hugoñ de Bussy u̅sus dñm Regem ⁊ alios quoscumq; aquietabo imppetuū. In cui᷑ rei testiõm huic presenti sc'pto sigill̃ meū apposui. Dat̃ Linc̃ die d̃nica pxima post festū sc̃e Agnet̃ virgĩs. anno. regni Regis Edward vicesimo nono. Itm id̃m Hug̃o lib̃ eid̃m Joh̃i triginta sol̃ st᷑ling̃. anno sup[a]dco.

Note D.

Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy Dengleterre, Seign[r] Dirland ⁊ Ducs Daquitaine au visconte de Nichole salu3. Nous vous mandons que hastiuement veuhes ce3 lettres vous face3 p[r]ueoir en vr̃e baillie seissante dou3eines de bon parchemin ensuit q̃ nous laions en nr̃e Garderobe ou que nous soiens le xiij. jour de cest mois de Decembre au plus tard. Et les coustages que vous hi metre3 nous ferons paier de nr̃e dite Garderobe ou duement aloer en vr̃e acounte au plus tost q̃ nous en u̅sons c̃tefie3. Don sou3 nr̃e priue saiel a Wirksop le. ij. iour de Decẽbre lan de nr̃e regne vint ⁊ nueuisme.

(In dorso) Recep̃ xx. m[a]r. de H. bus̃.

Lib̃atū fuit die dnica pxima añ festum sc̃i Nichi p man᷑ Egidij de Rothewell̃. Yt̃ bill̃.

Note E.

Edward par la g^{a}ce de Dieu Roi Dengl, Seign^{e} Dirlaund ⁊ Ducs Daquitaine au visconte de Nicole salu3. Nous vous mandons q̃ hastiuement veuhes ce3 lettres face3 p^{e}ueoir en vr̃e baillie quatre vin3 do3eins dou meillor ꝑchemin q̃ vous pore3 t^{o}uer, ⁊ le face3 venir en nr̃e Garderobe ou q̃ nous soiens le second Diemenche de cest q^{a}nsme ꝑchainem̃t auenir san3 plus loin3tain delay et les custages q̃ vous hi metre3 nous (ferons) de nr̃e dite Garderobe paier, ou s^{e} vr̃e acounte duem̃t alloer q^{a}nt no^{o} en ꝰons ꝰctefie3. Doñ sou3 nr̃e priue saiel a Nicole le xiij. jour de Feurier, lan de nr̃e regne vint ⁊ nueuisme. (A.D. 1301.)

(In dorso) ꝑ q^{a}ꝰ viginꝰ xij. ꝑcamene.

THE CASTLE OF LINCOLN.

The history of military, and other buildings, for warlike and domestic purposes, dates from a much earlier period in this country, than that of structures erected for religious uses. When, therefore, the Conqueror had subdued England, he proceeded to strengthen his conquest by the erection of castles, and, in this respect, he surpassed all his predecessors. It does not appear, that of the forty-nine castles enumerated ni Domesday, more than one of them, Arundel, existed at the time of Edward the Confessor. Of these forty-nine castles, eight are known to have been built by the Conqueror himself; ten were erected by the greater barons; eleven others, of whose builders we have no particular account, are noticed in the Survey, either expressly, or by inference, as newly raised.

In some instances, these military structures were accommodated to works previously in existence. The Castles of Dover and Pevensey obtained their position in consequence of the fortifications or inclosures formed by the Romans,

The Keep called The Lucy Tower.

which were found to be available to increase their strength. For having already a long curtain of defence, it was a saving of time and cost to make this subservient for the new erections. How far this method might have been adopted with respect to the first English fortress built at Lincoln, can now only be a matter of conjecture, because there is not that direct evidence existing to show it, which we see at the places already named.

There were halls and mansions standing at Lincoln when the Conqueror's survey was made, and as many as 166 had been destroyed on account of the castle. Sixty-four more were lying waste at this time beyond its precincts, as the record states, not because the inhabitants had been oppressed by the sheriffs, and King's officers, but because the people were in poverty, and had been greatly injured by fire.[1]

We are justified in inferring from this entry, that a castle already existed at Lincoln in the days of the Conqueror, and it is probable that it would be conformable to the usual buildings of this nature which he had erected in other places, namely, a central square tower, with an advanced wall of inclosure.

That it existed in the reign of Henry the First, there can, however, be no kind of doubt, as such a building is spoken of as belonging to the Crown during that period ; under what terms we shall shortly have an opportunity of examining.

The circumstances under which Stephen ascended the throne, will account for the great increase of castles in England during the whole of his reign. Having no just claims to the sovereignty, he could only support himself in it, by means of the various strongholds he had either built himself, or allowed his barons to build throughout the country. The clergy had been mainly instrumental in securing the crown to this usurper, and indeed they were as desirous of strengthening themselves in their temporal possessions as the most warlike or ambitious of his subjects.

[1] "De prædictis wastis mansionibus propter castellum destructæ fuerunt 166. reliquæ 74. wastatæ sunt extra metam castelli, non propter oppressionem vicomitum et ministrorum, sed propter infortunium et paupertatem et ignium exustionem."—*Domesday*, vol. ii. fol. 336 *b*.

Tochti had a hall within, and Goisfridus a hall without the walls.

Hence, we find Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, possessing two castles, as strong as they were stately, at Sherburn and Devizes: he was actually building another at Malmesbury. Alexander, his nephew, Bishop of Lincoln, had erected one at Newark, and another at Sleaford; not scrupling to declare it as being intended as much for his security, as the dignity of his church. Why should I speak of the magnificence of Gundulph's Castle at Rochester—or the strength of Vaulcher's at Durham—of the strongholds of the Bishop of Hereford at Lydbury—or the safe seclusions of Saltwood and Acton Burnell, built respectively by the Primate, and the Bishop of Wells?

Stephen being thus elevated to the throne chiefly by the instrumentality of the clergy, soon found himself, however, engaged with them in hostilities. The Bishop of Salisbury had espoused the cause of Matilda, the rightful heiress to the throne; and after a variety of changes in the event of war, she retired from the Castle of Wallingford, and fixed upon that of Lincoln as her head-quarters. She was here sharply besieged for some days, and at last, whilst the articles of capitulation were being drawn up, she escaped, and left the fortress to be defended by her father, the Earl of Gloucester. Stephen confidentially believing he was now secure in his conquest, left the castle to be protected by a small number of soldiers, who being suddenly surprised by the Earl of Gloucester, were overpowered, and the King himself taken prisoner. The histories of the period dwell with much prolixity upon the feats of valour the King exhibited in this conflict, a battle which will always be memorable in the English annals as being the cause of placing, for a time, Matilda upon the throne. The chances of war speedily reversed the position of affairs, and in the commencement of 1143, the Papal Legate summoned a council to Lincoln, in which Stephen took part; nay, he even celebrated his Christmas here four years later, with great ceremony, wearing, according to regal custom at that time, his crown upon his head, notwithstanding a prophecy foretelling great misfortunes to those monarchs who should affect such pomp.

With this general introduction I will now trace the History

of the Castle of Lincoln as illustrated by entries on the Great Roll of the Pipe, and other national documents.

8 Hen. II.—Item sic reddat compotum de 8 l. 1 s. 9 d. de munic. castelli vendita in operat. civitatis. (Under Terra Com. Cestriæ.)

14 Hen. II.—In operacione gaiole 4 l. per assisam.

20 Hen. II.—In liberacione decem militum residentium in cast. 107 l. de 214 diebus : et liberacione xx mil. solidar. 51 l. de 51 diebus.

34 Hen. II.—In emendacione gaiole in castello. 40 s.

2 Ric. I.—Pro 60 paribus annulorum ferreorum ad prisones custodiendos Lincol. portati prius cancellar. In reparacione et emendacione castrum, 20 m.

3 Ric. I.—In ferramentis et machinis pro castro.

6 Ric. I.—In emendacione gaiole et ferramentis ad prisones retinendos. 24 s. 6 d.

9 Ric. I.—In reparacione castri 100 s.

10 Ric. I.—Pro seris et ferramentis ad prisones 10 s. et pro judicio et justiciam faciendo. 32 s. per totum annum.

2 John.—In liberacione constabulario de Lincoln xxl. ad reparacionem nove turris et gaiole castelli de Lincoln, et sociis suis attornatis ad custodiam operis castel. de Grimesbi, 80 l. attrahendum hoc quod opus fuerit ad edificationem ejusdem castri.

3 John.—Et in reparacione gaiole de Lincoln, 5 l. 2 s. 3 d.[2]

13 John—In emendacione gaiole et castri. 20 s.

15 John.—In emendacione gaiole et castlri de Lincoln. 20 s.

The Close Roll supplies the following notices :—

9 John, (1208).—A writ to Will. de Cornhull, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, commanding him to value the grain at Nettleham, let him know the amount, and deliver it to Gerard de Kanevill, to whom it was assigned, to place it in the castle of Lincoln.[3]

16 John, (1215).—A writ to Phillip March, commanding him to give Nicholas de Haya six balistæ "ad strumum," and two balistæ "ad turnum," for fortifying the castle of Lincoln.[4]

[2] Rot. Canc. 164.

[3] 101.

[4] 196. Balistæ ad strumum, cross-bows for light conflict; ad turnum, Fr., *à tour*, wound up with a winch.

19 John, (1215).—The castle garrisoned by Falk de Breautè, to oppose the King's enemies.[4]

18 John, (1216).—An order of release from gaol for certain prisoners confined in the castle.[5]

2 Hen. III. (1217).—The Sheriffs of Somersetshire and Lincoln ordered to afford to Nicholas de la Haya reasonable aid for the soldiers and free tenants in his bailiwick, for discharging the debts he owes whilst he was besieged in our castle of Lincoln.[6]

2 Hen. III. (1218).—The Mayor and Provosts of Lincoln ordered to pay Nichola de la Haya 40 marcs of the farm of the town for the reparation of the castle.[7]

A similar order, repeated in August ;[8] 40 marcs being for sustaining the castle, and 60 for mending it.[9]

3 Hen. III. (1218).—The Mayor and Provosts ordered to pay Nicholaa de la Haya 40 marks for repairing the castle.[10]

3 Hen. III. (1218).—Order of payment to the King's uncle, Wm. Earl of Salisbury, of what was adjudged right by the opinion and testimony of a judge, to repair the castle of Lincoln in time of peace.[11]

3 Hen. III. (1219).—The manor of Munden, which was Gerard de Furnevall's, who, it is said, is gone to the Holy Land, assigned during the King's pleasure to Nicholaa de la Haye, to sustain herself in the castle of Lincoln ; the wife's dowry being saved to her.[12]

Among the letters in the Wakefield Tower, one (No. 235 is calendared) from Fulk de Breautè to Hubert de Burgh.—Being at Northampton with the King, Nicola la Haye had sent for assistance against the Earl of Salisbury, who was endeavouring to obtain entrance into the castle of Lincoln, offering her hostages. Breautè promises to defend the castle for her.[13]

3 Hen. III. (1219).—Of the amerciaments collected by the Sheriff of Lincoln in the last journey of the itinerant justices, Fulk de Breautè to have 250 marcs, to be paid to N. de la Haya, for the sustentation of the castle of Lincoln.[14]

[4] Rot. Pat. 159 b.
[5] 275.
[6] 344.
[7] 356.
[8] 367.
[9] 367.6.
[10] 382.
[11] 383.
[12] 390.
[13] Rep. Dep. Keeper, IV, p. 156.
[14] 398.

4 Hen. III. (1220).—Order of payment to F. de Breautè for three soldiers in the castle of Lincoln.[1]

A writ to the Mayor and Provosts of Lincoln to pay from the debts owing from the city 100 marcs, to be made to Nicholaa de la Haya, for the sustentation of the castle.[2]

Payment of 2 s. per day for three soldiers; to be settled with F. de Breautè. Subsequently repeated.[3]

5 Hen. III. (1221).—Payment ordered to N. de la Haya of 50 marcs to sustain herself in the castle of Lincoln.[4]

Order to the Sheriff to repair the gaol in the castle of Lincoln without delay.[5]

7 Hen. III. (1223).—Order to Sheriff of Lincoln for paying 18l. 4s. 5d. for the wages of serving-men and cross-bowmen at $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day.[6] A similar kind of order repeated.[7]

Barons of the Exchequer ordered to pay the Sheriff of Lincoln 30 l., for the custody of the castle, for six-score days.[8]

Sheriff of Lincoln to pay wages of 8 serving-men.[9]

8 Hen. III. (1224).—Sheriff of Lincoln to be paid for the custody of the castle, 15l. 10s. 0d. for 62 days, at 5s. a-day.[10]

Order to the Sheriff to give the Bishop of Lincoln, out of his issues, reasonable sustentation for the constable and his family for holding the castle.[11]

9 Hen. III. (1224).—Order to the Barons of the Exchequer to pay to Wm. E. of Salisbury 374 l. 15 s. 0 d., which he had laid out by royal precept in the work of the castle, in the first year of his reign, after the capture of the city over the barons, when he received it into his custody.—Also, order for 85 l. for the expenses of soldiers and serving-men in custody of the said castle, from the feast of the Holy Trinity, after the foresaid capture, to that of S^{t}. Faith, in the 1st year of our reign, immediately after the first peace made between us and Lewis and our Barons.[12]

9 Hen. III. (1225).—The Sheriff of Lincoln ordered to place in repair the gate of the castle of Lincoln, towards the church of St. Mary, and the tower of Luce, to the amount of twenty marcs, of which ten were expended in a barbekan.[13]

[1] 419.
[2] 426.
[3] 439, 457.
[4] 456.
[5] 466.
[6] 536.
[7] 547.
[8] 553.
[9] 553.
[10] 580.
[11] 584.
[12] V. ii. p. 5.
[13] 29.

Order to the Sheriff to let Jordan de Esseby, constable, have 100 s. for the works of the castle.[1]

10 Hen. III. (1226).—The constable of Chester ordered to let Osbert Giffard, Constable of Lincoln Castle, have 40 great pieces of timber in the park of Tunner, for strengthening the castle of Lincoln.[2]

Osbert Giffard 50 marcs for custody of the castle.[3]

Payment of 60 marks ordered to be made to him for operations in the castle.[4]

14 Hen. III.—The castle committed to Fulke de Breautè.[5]

3 Edw. I. (1275).—On the Inquisitions printed in the "Hundred Rolls," is a complaint of the citizens of Lincoln against Walter Bek, constable of the castle, that he had inclosed two acres of land and more, called the Batail-place, where the men of Lincoln were used to play, to feed their cattle, the brethren to preach, the thieves to fight, and the citizens have other recreations.[6]

9 Edw. II.—In the Parl. of 9 Edw. II. at Lincoln, it appears that Hugh Gerveyslaker Avenel was confined in the castle as a spy of Robert de Brus.[7]

By an inquisition held by twelve citizens of Lincoln before two justices of the Crown, in the 3rd year of Edward the First, it appears that the castle was a fee of the Crown, and had been in the royal demesne in the time of King Henry the First, in the time of Henry the Second, Richard and John, "and they held that castle in demesne with the city of Lincoln; and that a certain soldier, Gerard de Cawmwile by name, held the aforesaid castle as in custody, and by the assignment of King John, during his pleasure. And after the decease of the said Gerard, his wife Domina Nicholaa de la Haye, held it during royal pleasure in time of peace and war. And the aforesaid lady Nicholaa delivered the keys of the castle to the King as to its Lord, and he besought her saying, 'My beloved Nicholaa, I will that you keep that castle as hitherto, until I shall order otherwise;' and so she retained it as long as King John lived. And afterwards King Henry the Third delivered the custody of the castle of Lincoln to

[1] 68.
[2] Bruges, 135.
[3] 143.
[4] 144.
[5] Rot. Pat. 15.
[6] Rot. Hund. 312, 320.
[7] Rot. Parl. i. 346.

Clipstone Palace

In Sherwood Forest, built in the Reign of Henry II.

Phillip de Lascelles, Sheriff, and he afterward gave up its custody to Walter de Ewermue, and he held it till the King requested William de Longespeye to take the custody; and after his death, William, his son, held it during Royal pleasure, as the Jurors believed. And after his decease, the Lady Elianora, then Queen of England, held it, and had custody of the son of William de Longespeye, junior, until he arrived at full age. And Lord Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, because he had married his daughter, now holds that castle, by the will of the King, as we believe, but we know not by what warrant." [8]

The Pat. 1 Ric. 2, p. 2, m. 5. 1st, recites an inquisition taken at Lincoln, 5 March, 4 Edw. I., on death of H. de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, which returns that he held the constableship of Lincoln Castle in right of his late wife, Margaret Lungespeye ; and that Alesia, their daughter, aged 26, was the heir of the said Margaret. 2ndly, recites a writ, 27 May, in the same year, to the escheator, commanding him to give possession of castle, &c., to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who married the above-named Alesia, and had done homage to the King for her lands. 3rdly, a writ, 24 Feb., 15 Edw. I., desiring the Sheriff to take the castle into the King's hands, as it had got into the possession of the King's enemies. 4thly, a release from the said Alesia, then a widow, (16 Edw. I.) to the King, of the constableship, &c., which the King afterwards restores.

THE PALACE AND PARLIAMENT OF CLIPSTONE.

The sylvan beauties and venerable age of the oaks in Sherwood Forest are almost as well known throughout England as the tradition of its having been the scene of the exploits of Robin Hood. The dramatist and the poet have invested the locality with an undying charm, and it is perhaps mainly owing to the agreeable narrative by which they have

[8] Rot. Hund. p. 315.

commended it to notice, that the unimpressive and scanty facts respecting its actual history have escaped observation. Yet it may boast of some claims to a passing notice, having been selected at a very early period as the temporary residence of the English Kings.

A small portion of the building they occupied still remains, but the entire absence of mouldings prevent us from speaking with any degree of certainty as to its age. There is, however, nothing in its appearance to controvert the idea of it having been built in the reign of Henry the Second, when the first notices on the documents commence.

As the two first Edwards spent a considerable portion of their time here, previous to their assembling Parliaments at Lincoln, the few scattered accounts we have relative to their sojourn may serve to illustrate, in a slight degree, this period of their personal history, but, like those connected with the Castle of Lincoln, they are too disjointed to weave into a continuous narrative. I shall, therefore, merely set them down in the order of their date.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GREAT ROLL OF THE PIPE.

11 Hen. II.—In operacione domorum Regis de Clipestona xx l. per breve Regis.

17 Hen. II.—In operacione camini de Clypeston. 21. 6s. 8d.

24 Hen. II.—In operacione cameræ et vivarii et capellæ de Clypeston. 36 l. 6 s. 8 d.

25 Hen. II.—In expensis apud Clypeston et apud parcum de Clop.

7 Ric. I.—In custodia domorum Regis 60 s., et parci 4 s.

1 John.—In operacione domorum Regis. 14 l. 4 s. 6 d.

6 John.—In emendacione pontis. 1 marc.

8 John.—In reparacione domorum. 12 l. 15 s. 3 d.

11 John.—In reparacione domorum et vivarii. 13l. 9s. 10d.

EXTRACTS FROM CLOSE AND OTHER ROLLS.

16 John (1215).—The Sheriff of Nottingham ordered to provide payments for the two chaplains at Clipstone and Harstane, ministering there, for the soul of Henry II.[1]

5 Hen. III. (1220).—The Sheriff of Nottingham to be paid 7. 0. 8., which he has laid out in repairing the great pool (stagnum) and the mill, and the palisade round our houses at Clipston.[2]

7 Hen. III. (1223).—Repairs ordered in our chamber at Clipston.[3]

In the 18th of Edward the First, 1290, the King spent from September 19 to 23 at Clipston, and again from the 12th October to 11th November; during one of which sojourns he heard two pleas of justice, in what the Rolls term a Parliament; but this could only have been a council of his nobility, and not a general assembly of that nature usually called a Parliament.[4]

18 Edw. I.—Thos. de Normanvill to have six oaks in Shirwood Forest, fit for timber, to repair the King's pool—stagnum. (Close).

27 Edw. I.—Richd. de Havering, warden of the King's manor of Clipston, to have 20 oaks, fit for timber, in Shirewood Forest, to repair the King's houses. (Close m. 2.)

1 Edw. II.—The King spent a week here in September.

9 Edw. II.—The King spent the whole of November and great part of December, and all January, when he went to Lincoln, and staid there till the 27th Feb., when he again returned to Clipstone for a fortnight.

10 Edw. II.—He spent many days here in December and January.

12 Edw. II.—He was here again in the month of September.

15 Edw. II. (Close m. 16).—The houses within the King's manor of Clipston are to have all the repairs they want, under the superintendence of Thomas Atte Mark, the King's bailiff of that manor.

[1] Rot. Claus. 182. [2] Rot. Claus. 441. [3] 533. [4] Rot. Parl. v. i. p. 45.

19 Edw. II.—The houses and walls of the King's manor of Clipston are to have all the repairs they want. (Close.)

The chaplain celebrating divine service daily in the chapel of the manor of Clipstone has five marcs a year. Thomas Atte Mark, the King's bailiff of the manor, and custos of the *Pele* (Pelæ nostræ) there, has three-pence a day; and Roger de Warsop, custos of the paling round the King's park there, has two-pence a day. (Close.)

1 Edw. III. (Fine, m. 1).—In recompence of the loss which the men and tenants of the town of Kingsclipston have sustained by the inclosure made by Edw. 2nd of a wood anciently called "Clipston Park," the King grants them common pasture for their cattle, and in Birkeland in Sherwood Forest.

2 Edw. III.—The King granted to Robert de Clipstone the custody of his manor and park of Clipstone; the manor to be kept up at the King's expence; the paling of the park at the said Robert's, having wood out of the park for that purpose, and 7 d. a day for himself, the park-keepers, and the makers of the pales.

2 Hen. IV.—The manor of Clipstone granted to George Dunbar, Earl of March, for life.[5]

Charles Henry Hartshorne.

[5] C. Rot. Parl. 244.

THE ANCIENT MINT OF LINCOLN.

When the Archaeological Institute is welcomed into the City of Lincoln, where its members have assembled this year for the purpose of investigating its history and examining the monuments it still retains of days long gone by, it will be expected that something should be said about the Mint which once flourished in this ancient city, and of the coins which once issued from its presses. For the gratification of this expectation I will endeavour to state clearly what is known respecting this local establishment, hoping for a few minutes to engage the attention of those who are interested in the history of this city, but without the expectation of giving instruction to those who have previously directed their attention to numismatic studies, or have already made themselves acquainted with these establishments which formerly existed in this place, and which are evidences of that estimation in which it was held, and of that influence which it exercised in the surrounding districts, and to which these institutions and establishment largely contributed.

The ground which I would now trace has been already explored, its prospects have all been opened to the inspection of the curious, and all its peculiarities have been explained. Mr. Maurice Johnson, a gentleman whose name is well known to every antiquary in the kingdom, especially to those connected with the County of Lincoln, has already investigated this subject. He was the founder, and for many years a very active and energetic supporter of the Literary and Scientific Society, established at Spalding, in 1710, and a large contributor to its transactions. In a paper which was read before that Society, upwards of a century ago, that gentleman discussed at considerable length the history of the Mint at Lincoln, and with the fond partiality for his native county, which will occasionally warp the judgment of even a stern antiquary, he endeavours to give a Lincoln origin to

various coins issued under the authority of the Roman Emperors, upon which certain letters appear. Amongst these are found the letters L. C., which he interprets to be the initials of Lindum Colonia.[1] It is upon the authority of these two letters alone, that Mr. Johnson ventures to attribute the coins upon which they occur to the Lincoln Mint. Admitting that Lindum Colonia was the Roman name of Lincoln, it does not follow as a matter of course, that the letters L. C. upon these are intended for the initials of this city. L. may, and with more probability, be assigned to Londinum, London, or Lugdunum,—Lyons, for it is by no means certain that the coins in question were struck even in this island; the letter C. may stand for Civitas, a word applicable to any of these towns; or it may stand for *cusa*, and, indeed, so it has been interpreted upon numerous coins, on which it occurs, intimating that the coin was cusa or struck at the place indicated by the preceding letters. As, for instance, P. L. C., or P. LON. C., Pecunia Londini cusa.

Though it has been deemed necessary, in obedience to the dictates of truth, to invalidate the claims of Lincoln to a Mint in Roman times, founded upon the letters L. C., I am far from having the boldness of asserting that a Roman Mint was not established in the city. From the comparison of the various associations of letters appearing in the exergues of the coins of the Constantine period, it can scarcely be disputed that these letters refer to the places where the coins were minted, and that the privilege of coining was enjoyed by several cities in various parts of the empire and its colonies. There are not any records, beyond the coins themselves, existing to show in what cities this power was exercised, but it is generally admitted that TREV. stands for Treves, LON. for London, because the number of letters limits the application, whereas, when only a single letter appears, it is applicable to every town commencing with the same letter, and additional evidence is requisite to justify its appropriation to any

[1] Dissertation on the Mint at Lincoln, proved from undoubted monuments, and money in several ages there coined, &c., read Aug. 28, 1740; printed in Antiquities of Lincolnshire, Bibl. Topogr. Brit. No. XX. vol. iii. p. 56.

particular place. We cannot therefore with confidence assert that L. stands for Lincoln, when it may be equally applicable to several other places; nor does its juxta-position with the letter C. strengthen the evidence in favour of this city, because that letter is found in connection with various other letters, and generally receives an interpretation, having no peculiar application to Lincoln. That this was once a Roman station there cannot be a moment's doubt, its existing remains sufficiently attest that fact, and their extent and magnitude are sufficient evidence that the station was one of considerable importance; it is therefore by no means improbable that Lincoln may have been one of the many places where coins were struck when Britain was under the dominion of the Romans, and we fear that upon this probability alone, Lincoln must rest her pretensions to be considered a Roman Mint, for it is difficult to discover any collateral evidence to fortify this claim. It is true that there is still in existence a piece of wall, called "the Mint-wall," and it is also indisputably true that this piece of wall is of Roman construction, and I am disposed to attach considerable value to local tradition, and to esteem names as important guides in historical investigations. I am ready, therefore, to admit the very great probability that this wall was a part of the premises where a Mint once existed. I cannot, however, go so far as to admit that it was therefore part of a Mint-house in Roman times. It may have been the site of a Mint in later times, when all know that a Mint did certainly exist in Lincoln, and that its name of "Mint-wall" may have been given to it at that time, and been retained to these present days.

Although we cannot find sufficient evidence to justify the assertion, that coins were struck at Lincoln by authority of the Roman emperors, we have quite sufficient to enable us to maintain, that coins professing to be Roman were manufactured in this city; but whether forgeries by individuals, with a view to deception for their own particular profit, or by persons, perhaps officials, whose practices were connived at, though not regularly authorised, is a question upon which antiquaries are not at present agreed, and probably never will be. It is very well known to numismatists that moulds

of baked clay made for the purpose of casting coins, have been found in various parts of this kingdom. These moulds consist of flat pieces of clay, having on each side an intaglio impression from a Roman coin ; these are placed one over another, generally in three piles : through the raised rim of each mould a small notch is cut, which is turned towards the centre of the three piles ; the whole is then inclosed in a case of clay contracted at the top, so that the external appearance resembles that of a common stone bottle.[2] The melted metal is poured into the neck of the bottle, passes down the hollow space left in the centre of the three circular piles of moulds, and from thence through the notches in the rim of each mould into the moulds themselves. The whole mass is then broken up, the metal is separated from the moulds, the edge of each piece is carefully cleaned and polished, and thus are false coins rapidly and cheaply constructed. It cannot be doubted that coins so formed are forgeries ; but the question has been much discussed, whether they are private or public forgeries. From an examination of very many of these moulds, many of them arranged within the bottles ready for use ; some also still unseparated, with the metal remaining within them ; it is evident that they were formed from coins of various types, and even various emperors ; and from coins also in various states of preservation, some fresh and sharp, some partially worn by use: the forgeries, therefore, would not resemble a recent issue of coins of the emperor then reigning ; but the general mass of coins, of past as well as present emperors, which were in ordinary circulation at the time, in the locality where these pieces were made. Under such circumstances, the pieces would carry with them no indications of the place of their birth ; pieces made at Lincoln, might have been cast in moulds formed from coins, struck in London, at Treves or Constantinople, or any other part of the Roman empire. It is not necessary here to discuss the question, by whom these pieces were made, especially as there are not any records to which we can refer for authority, and either side must be supported by arguments, deriving the

[2] See a representation of moulds of this kind, and the pile, as above described, in Mr. Artis' Durobrivæ.

whole of their force from the ingenuity of the combatants, unsupported by evidence. It may only be stated in favour of the practice having been connived at, if not authorised, that these moulds are generally found in the sites of large stations, dispersed over a large surface of ground, and in considerable quantities, leading to the opinion, that the operations were conducted more generally and openly than would be consistent with an illegal act, which would subject a culprit to severe punishment. Moulds, such as we have been describing, have been found in Lincoln; but, if I am rightly informed, not within the boundaries of Roman Lincoln; possibly, in what at that time may have been an obscure suburb, a locality well adapted for carrying on any clandestine operations. We cannot, therefore, be sure, that these pieces made at Lincoln had that guarantee of publicity, which might give them some claim to authenticity. We must rest contented with the fact proved, by the discovery of these moulds, that Roman coins, or at least, the representatives of Roman coins, were made at Lincoln; but still we are quite without any evidence of the existence in this city, of an established and Roman authorised Mint.

After having been reluctantly compelled to invalidate the evidence of the claims of Lincoln to a Roman Mintage, I must endeavour to make some amends by establishing its right to Mintage in Saxon times, at a somewhat earlier date than Ruding and some other numismatic writers have been willing to admit. Æthelstan, who ascended the throne A.D. 924, ordained certain laws for the regulation of his coinage, and appointed a limited number of moneyers in specific towns, amongst which the name of Lincoln does not appear; from which omission Ruding has somewhat incautiously concluded that "this Mint, if it ever really existed, must have fallen into total disuse, from which it did not recover even in this king's reign." Now, although the *name* of Lincoln does not appear in these ordinances, yet it is enacted that besides the number of moneyers assigned to places especially named, there should be one moneyer in the other burghs of the kingdom. Lincoln might possibly, nay, probably, have been one of them, but Ruding was perhaps

confirmed in his opinion that there was not any Mint here at so early a period, because he had not been able to discover any coin bearing upon its surface the name of Lincoln, of any earlier reign than that of Edgar, who commenced his reign A.D. 959. This mistake is somewhat remarkable, as one of the many instances of the mind becoming unconsciously closed against the admission of new ideas, from its being occupied with preconceived notions ; for Ruding himself gives an engraving of a coin of Alfred, bearing upon it the monogram of Lincolnia. Upon the coins of this illustrious prince the monogram of London frequently appears, and is perfectly well known to numismatists ; the general appearance of the two monograms is somewhat similar, and certain authors, thoughtlessly supposing they must be the same, omitted to examine carefully the Lincoln monograms, and described it as that of London. *See* Ruding, Pl. XV. fig. 9, and his description of the coins. Here then, we have indisputable proof of the existence of a Lincoln Mint, in the time of Alfred, about fifty years earlier than Ruding had been able to trace it.

The next coin to which I would direct attention as evidence of a Lincoln Mint, is one bearing the words LINCOIA CIVIT., and the name of Saint Martin. This coin, there is every reason to believe, was struck very early in the tenth century. It much resembles certain coins struck at York, bearing the name of St. Peter, many of which were some years since discovered amongst a parcel of coins which must have been deposited in the place where they were discovered, in the earliest years of that century. They also resemble the coins of Eric, King of Northumberland, from the year 927 to 951, and it is exceedingly probable that the St. Peter and the St. Martin coins were struck during his reign. The connection between St. Martin and this city was established, if tradition is to be believed, cotemporaneously with the revival of Christianity in this part of the kingdom, in the seventh century, when Paulinus, who contributed to the conversion of Edwin, King of Northumberland, was consecrated Archbishop of York, where he built a church, dedicated to the honour of St. Peter. This prelate is said to have built a church at Lincoln,

at that time within the Province of York, and dedicated it to the honour of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, to which names was added shortly afterwards the name of St. Martin. I am quite unable to refer to any unquestionable evidence in support of this tradition, but from the conjunction of St. Martin's name with that of this city upon the coins in question, it is most probable that he was, when the coin was struck, that is, at the commencement of the tenth century, generally esteemed the Patron Saint of the city, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was so considered, in consequence of the first Christian church within the city having been dedicated to his honour.[3]

These two coins which we have just described, establish beyond doubt the existence of a Mint in Lincoln before the times of Æthelstan, and the omission of the name of this city, in the laws which he ordained for the regulation of the coins of his kingdom, goes no further than to show that, in all probability, there was only one moneyer assigned to it, it being comprised in the general terms of other burghs in which there was only one. Notwithstanding the existence of a Mint in this city, no coins bearing its name are now extant, which were struck in the reigns of Edward the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, or Eadwig. Of all the succeeding monarchs, however, coins still exist, and the public records relating to the Mint show that Lincoln was rapidly increasing in wealth and importance. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the city paid 30*l.* to the King and Earl; but when the Domesday Book was compiled, it paid 100*l.*, and the Mint 75*l.*,—a larger sum, as far as we may rely upon the accuracy of that record, than was paid by any other Mint.

After the Conquest, we find that the Lincoln Mint continued in operation, from coins still existing of William the First and

[3] St. Martin was deemed a cotitular saint and patron with our Blessed Saviour and the Blessed Virgin Mary, of a church built by Paulinus, Archbishop of York, at Lincoln, A.D. 629, originally dedicated to Christ and the Blessed Virgin; afterwards to them and St. Martin, taken in as a cotitular saint with them when Popery and superstition prevailed, by Blecca, Thane of Linsey, patron. It is a prebendal church, the vicarage thereof now in patronage of the long-since vacant Prebendary of St. Martin, in Lincoln Cathedral. St. Martin is supposed to be the most ancient church in Lincoln.

Second, Henry the First, Stephen, and Henry the Second. Of the reigns of Richard the First and John, we have no remaining coins whatever, but we have records which prove that the Mint establishment was still maintained; for Richard the First, at the commencement of his reign, granted certain privileges to the citizens of Lincoln, from which the king's officers and moneyers were excluded. King John, in the ninth year of his reign, commanded the moneyers and officers of certain specified cities, of which Lincoln was one, to seal up their dies with their own seals, and to appear at Westminster, within fifteen days of the morrow of St. Denys, to receive there the king's commands. Money still exists of this Mint, struck by Henry the Third. It is known to numismatists, that a controversy has long existed respecting the appropriation of certain coins, formerly known by the name of short-cross pennies; some persons assigning them to Henry the Second, others to Henry the Third. I some years since expressed my opinion that they were struck by the earlier of these monarchs: very strong reasons, founded upon existing records, have been since adduced for assigning them to the later monarch, and I must admit it would be difficult to set aside the evidence of the documents referred to. Much, however, has, and still may be said on both sides, but this is not the proper place to enter into the discussion, nor should I have at this time alluded to it, were it not that a circumstance connected with the Lincoln Mint, may have some bearing upon the question. There are certain coins which bear upon them, the word NICOLE, as the name of a town, which was at one time a puzzle to numismatists, who, not having referred much to written documents, were at fault in the appropriation of these coins to their proper birth-place. It is now perfectly well known, that Nicole and Lincoln are the names of the same place; but why the name of this city should be changed from Lincoln, which it had borne for centuries, to that of Nicole, is still with many a source of perplexity. Gough and several others supposed it to arise from a transposition of letters; others from the obscure manner in which the letters are formed upon many coins. Reference to a succession of early and cotemporary

documents shows that it arises entirely from that propensity, even to this day remaining, of our continental neighbours to alter and transpose every name they have occasion to use. Upon consulting the rolls of Parliament from the 18th of Edward the First down to the time of Henry the Eighth, we shall find, that whenever an entry is made in the Latin language, the name of this city is Lincoln; whenever it is made in French, the name is Nicole; amongst the later entries, 3 Henry the Seventh, the Bishop is called "L'Evesq. de Lincoln." In the proceedings and ordinances of the Privy Council, the same peculiarity occurs; but in these documents the word Lincoln is occasionally used in French as early as the reign of Henry the Fourth. It may then, perhaps, be established, that Nicole is the French name of Lincoln. Now this French name occurs upon English coins only upon the short-cross pennies, which some writers have supposed to have been struck by Henry the Second in the year 1180. It is, therefore, worthy of remark, that in this very year Henry introduced a French artist, Philip Aymary, of Tours, to superintend a new and improved coinage; and if those writers are correct in their attribution of these coins, the introduction of the French artist and the French name of Lincoln would synchronise.

Edward the First struck coins at Lincoln, but later than this reign, we have not any certain evidence of the existence of a Mint at Lincoln.

THE GRECIAN STAIRS, LINCOLN.

THERE are a few names of places in the ancient city of Lincoln which may deserve a brief notice, as having retained to this day the use of words long since obsolete in our vernacular English. I need hardly mention the name of the Stonebow, as it will have occurred to every one, the least conversant with such matters, that it is the old English name for an arch; preserved also in the name of Bow Church, or St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Mary-with-the-Arch, and in the expression of a *bowing-wall* in our Bible version of the Psalms;[1] which expression, I believe, is still in use.

Not far from thence, immediately below the High Bridge, will be seen an inn, bearing now the sign of the Black Goats. It has been altered, within a few years, from that of the Three Goats, which I can well remember to have heard my father say was derived from the three gowts,[2] or drains, by which

[1] Psa. lxii. 3.

[2] The writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Way for being able to give the undoubted meaning and origin of this word, Gowt, or Gote. Mr. Way refers to Bishop Kennett's MS. Glossarial Collections, Lansdown MS. 1033, who says, "A wide ditch, or water-course, that empties itself into the sea, is called in Romney Marsh a gut, from old Danish giota, *scrobs;* thence gutter, drain, a mill-gut, a gote, *i.e.* a flood-gate, Northumberland. Ang. Sax. ȝcotan, in præt. ȝut, plur. ȝutan—*fundere.*" And again, "Goutes, siukes, vaults. Bristol is eminent for these goutes or subterrancan vaults, by reason of which they draw all things on sledges, for fear the shaking of cart-wheels should loosen these arches." Also, to his own edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum,* for the Camden Society; a compilation which seems to have been made at Lynn, in Norfolk, circa 1440.

"Gote or water schetelys;
Goote, water schedellys (in another MS.)
Latin, aquagium, sinoglocitorium;"

upon which he has, in his edition, the following note:—"The stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 33, after setting forth the decayed state of the fortifications of Hull, grants certain duties levied on the importation of fish, to repair and maintain the walls, ditches, and banks, as also 'other clowes, getties gutters, *goottes,* and other fortresses there,' for the defence of the town and haven. Statutes, vol. iii., 872. The stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. 30, recites that the channel of the Camber, near Rye, had become choked up, in part by casting ballast into it, 'and partly bycause dyverse mershes inned take in no water to scower the channel, but lett oute ther freshe water at *guttes,* so that the road for shipping was much injured.' Stat. vol. iv. p. 72."

Mr. Way further observes, that "this word is retained in several counties. Skinner and Ray give '*gowts,*' a word signifying, in Somerset, channels, or drains underground. In the Craven dialect it signifies a channel of water from a mill-dam, as does *goyt* in Hallamshire. Jamieson gives '*goat* and got,' a small trench or drain. A similar word occurs in old French: '*Goute,* goutfiére, egout.'—*Roquefort.* Leland often uses the word gut, as implying a small channel; for instance, Itin. vol. i., pp. 4, 38, *gut* or

the water from the Swan Pool, a large lake which formerly existed to the west of the city, was conducted into the bed of the Witham, below. A public-house having arisen on the bank of the principal of these three gowts, in honour, probably, of the work when it was made, the name became corrupted into the Three Goats ; a corruption more easily accomplished in our Lincolnshire English, than in more polite language ; and thus the Three Goats at length made their appearance upon the sign, from whence the hand of a modern artist has lately driven away all trace of their origin, by substituting the epithet *black* for the number *three*.

But the name which especially claims our attention is that of *The Grecian Stairs*, a flight of steps by which the ascent is gained from about midway of what is called *the New Road*, to a small ancient gateway, leading towards the Minster Yard. This name appears to be rather a remarkable instance of more than one peculiarity in the English language, for it exhibits, if I do not mistake, at once the tendency to attach a meaning to a word, however absurd that meaning may be, and the practice of adding an explanation to a word which was becoming obsolete, even though at the expense of a tautology. The proper word is presumed to be "*the Greesen*," which is the early English plural of a *gree*, or step, to which the word *stairs* has been added, without dropping the original name when this was becoming obsolete ; thus making it, *the Greezen stairs*. There is, indeed, another derivation sometimes given, which I find on Stukeley's map of the ancient city, namely *Gree-stan* stairs. If by this should be understood merely *greystone*, as is sometimes said, I must wholly dissent from it. But if it mean the *gree*-stone or *step*-stone, it will not make any material difference whether we understand it to be the *stepstone* stairs, or, simply the plural of the same word explained by a repetition, the *greesen stairs*. If indeed, of which I am not aware, this word "Greestan" should be found in our old writers, signifying a step-stone, or even if the name of these steps should be so written in any

lode ; p. 48, gut, &c. ; and in Lincolnshire, the Ordnance Survey proves the frequent occurrence of the term, applied to small streams flowing from the fens into the ocean."

contemporaneous documents,—contemporaneous, that is, with the use of the word, and not merely assigned to it by antiquaries—in such a case this might seem to be the preferable interpretation. But the difference is so slight between Greestan stairs and Greesen stairs, that it is hardly worth discussing.

It will, perhaps, be worth while to give a few instances of this use of the word gree and its plural, greesen, from our early writers; and first to show that such is the meaning of the word itself, after which the use of the expletive in conjunction with it, will confirm the interpretation given to the name in the instance before us.

The word is sometimes written *grize*, with an *i*, and *z*, and sometimes *gree*, with a double *ee*; the latter appears to be the more ancient, being that of Wickliffe and Chaucer; the former being used by Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and others.

Thus in Wickliffe's Bible, (Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxi. v. 35,) where we now read, "When Paul came upon the stairs, so it was that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people;" Wickliffe has it, "And whanne Poul cam to the *grees* it bifel that he was borun of knytys for strength of the peple"—(where it may also be observed that the word *knight* is used in the same sense as *miles* for a man at arms, though, from the dignity attached to the profession of arms, both terms came to signify a person of rank and title). But still more, in the last verse of the same chapter, where we read, "And when he had given him license, Paul stood on the stairs," Wickliffe has it, "Poul stood on the *greezen*."

The same word is used in the singular number by Chaucer :—

> "In thank thy service wol I take,
> And high *of gree* I will thee make."
>
> *Romaunt of the Rose*, fol. 126.

And by Lydgate—

> "The time of yeare, shortly to conclude,
> When twenty *'grees* was Phœbus' altitude."
>
> *Prologue to Troy Book.*

Ben Jonson has the word in the plural:—"Which were the daughters of the Genius, and six in number; who in a

spreading ascent, upon several *griees*, help to beautify both sides."[3]

And lastly, Shakspeare, in that exquisite passage of the "Twelfth Night," where Olivia confesses her love for Viola, disguised as a man :—

> "*Vio.* I pity you.
> *Ol.* That 's a degree to love.
> *Vio.* No not *a grize;* for 'tis a vulgar proofe
> That very oft we pity enemies."

To which I need hardly add the celebrated place in Timon of Athens :—

> "Every *grize* of fortune
> Is smooth'd by that below."

If these instances may suffice to show the use and meaning of the word *gree* and *greesen*, as a step or stair, it remains to illustrate in like manner the practice of adding the expletive to the obsolete word, in the way still to be noticed at Lincoln, when we speak of the *Greesen Stairs*. And it so happens that we have several instances in different writers of this practice as regards this very word. And first, to take another example from our great poet, we find in Othello, where the Duke intercedes with Brabantio for the pardon of Desdemona :—

> "Let me speak like yourself; and lay a sentence
> Which, *as a grize or step,* may help these lovers
> Into your favour."
>
> *Othello,* Act i., Sc. 3.

So also in Udall's Commentary on Hebrews, ch. vii.[4] "Truly it was given for a season, to the intente it shoulde be a certaine *griece or stayre* to bring us at length to a better hope :" meaning that the imperfect law of Moses was a step to conduct us to the perfect law of Christ.

Again, in Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 57, in describing the palace of the king of Java, he says : "The king of the said land of Java hath a most brave and sumptuous palace, the

[3] I believe also that in some ancient records of the building of King's College Chapel, the length, from the entrance to the steps of the choir, is stated to be "to *the grees* of the quire :" but I have not been able to verify this quotation.

[4] See Richardson's Lexicon, from whence this quotation and the following one are taken.

most loftily built, that ever I saw any, and it hath most high *greesses or stayers*, to ascend up to the rooms therein contained."[5]

In each of these three last instances we have the *Grecian stairs*, in such a way as, it may be hoped, will leave little doubt as to the origin of that name, with this only difference, that these last writers adopt the more modern form of the plural, *greezes*, whereas Wickliffe retains the Anglo-Saxon form of *greezen*, as I am supposing to have been done at Lincoln. But it may be further observed, that we have, at least, one instance of such an explanation of an obsolete word in the Prayer Book, where we say, "we, who by our sins and wickedness, are sore *let and hindered* in running the race that is set before us." As for the tendency to attach a meaning to a word that has become unintelligible, by altering it to another word with which it has no connection, the instances are too obvious to require to be quoted. It is this which has given us such words as *sparrow-grass*, for asparagus, and a thousand others which might be named; but one only may here suffice, because it is connected with one of the most illustrious of our bishops, Robert Grosteste. It is well known that this surname was given him from a personal peculiarity, his family name having been Copley; but we find that many writers, who were fond of quoting him for several years afterwards, called him, not Grosteste, nor yet Greathead, but, by a most singular confusion, *Grosthead*; joining together an English termination, which was also a translation, to the first syllable of the French or Norman word.

It is to be hoped it need not follow that we ought to abolish at once this name of the Grecian stairs, though perhaps it was a superfluous care which, not more than ten or twelve years ago, caused the words to be inscribed in large letters on the adjoining wall,[6] or imitate that somewhat pedantic practice which is spreading among us, of restoring words to what we think their derivative origin. The *Belle*

[5] See the preceding note.

[6] It was a less excusable error which was committed at the same time, by writing the ancient Ermine Street — Hermin Street.

Sauvage, who now figures on the sides of omnibuses in the form of a wild young lady with dishevelled hair, does not answer the purpose of a sign better than *the bell* and *the savage* of less enlightened days. And this pedantry has the disadvantage of destroying vestiges of ancient language and its changes, interesting to those who are curious in such matters, and harmless as regards the rest of mankind. I trust, therefore, that our children's children may still climb the *Grecian stairs*, and, as they climb the steps of life, may their "every *grize* of fortune be smoothed by that below."

F. C. Massingberd.

NOTE TO THE GRECIAN STAIRS.

The writer has been favoured by Mr. Albert Way with the following notes in further illustration of this subject.

"In the two earliest English Dictionaries extant, the word "Grece" is thus given:—

"A Greece—gradus: gradare, id est gradus facere, vel per gradus ducere." Catholicon Maternâ Linguâ, compiled in Lincolnshire or Southern Yorkshire, A.D. 1483; where the author seems to include the verb, as well as the noun—although he does not repeat the word—that is, "to grece" seems understood between gradus and gradare.

"Greece or steyre, Gradus;" (in another MS. "Grece or tredyl,") and again under letter T, "Tredyl or Grece (tredyl of grece in another MS.) Gradus, pedalis." Under the letter V, "Vyce, round grece, or steyer, coclea." Another MS. gives it thus: "Vyce, rounde gre." The obsolete term, vice, being used for a corkscrew staircase.

These last words are taken from the "Promptorium Parvulorum," the first printed English-Latin Dictionary, compiled at Lynn in Norfolk, by Brother Galfridus, named Grammaticus, of the Friars Preachers in that town.

Palsgrave, in his curious "Eclaircissement de la Langue Françoyse," 1530, gives "Grece, to go up at, or a stayre, *degré:*" he spells it also "Grese."

A MS. vocabulary of the 15th century gives "Cocles, turnegrece." Another has "Gradus, a grece or stappe. Grado, to lcede or greys"—the very verb which has been supposed to be understood in the first citation. From to grece or greys to the verb pro-gress the step is an easy one.

In the unpublished version of Vegetius de Re Militari, attributed to

Trevisa, a curious illustration of this word occurs. In the instructions how to defend a fortress by a double wall, with earth rammed in between the walls, it is added—"and ever in the making of the inner walle at every fourty or fifty fote of length esy gresinges fro the playn grounde of the citie up to the walls."

Sir John Maundeville has afforded also illustrations, as following. Of the state of the "Great Chan of Chatay.—The grees, that he gothe up to the table, ben of precyous stones, medled with gold."—"Vesselle of sylver is there non, for thei telle no prys there of, to make no vesselle offe, but thei maken ther of Grecynges and Pileres and Pavementes to halles and chambres"—*Travailes*, pp. 259, 263.

Lastly, the provincial word "Grissens" is given by Forby in his "East Anglian Dialect," as used in Norfolk, denoting "stairs"—"gree-stones"—but perhaps more truly "grisen." Forby speaks of the Grecian stairs at Lincoln. "Many a learned dignitary," he says, "better skilled in Greek than old English, has, no doubt, been puzzled to conceive how they could have acquired such a name."

A very happy and singular illustration was also supplied by the Rev. William Gunner, of Winchester College, who was present at the Sectional Meeting where this Paper was read, in the following quotation from the Rolls of Winchester College, temp. Hen. IV.:—"In expensis Stephani Austeswell, equitantis ad Thomam Ayleward,[7] ad loquendum cum ipso apud Havant, et inde ad Hertynge, ad loquendum cum Dominâ ibidem, de evidenciis scrutandis de *Pe de Gre* progenitorum hæredum de Husey, cum vino dato eodem tempore, xx. d. ob."

[7] Thomas Ayleward was Rector of Havant, and one of the executors named in the will of William of Wykeham. The Lady of Hertyng was probably one of the family of Heose, Hose, or Husey, once of note in Hampshire and Sussex, as also in Wilts.

FEUDS OF OLD LINCOLNSHIRE FAMILIES.*

GREAT interest attends an inquiry into the transitions of our social state, when our ancestors, though their quarrels no longer led to Baronial wars, had not yet learned to rely upon the law of the land for assistance or redress, but inclined to

> — "the good old plan,
> That those should take who have the power,
> And those should keep who can."

The spirit of the times was in favour of physical force. As a decision in public wrongs, it admitted trial by battle; in private disputes, the duel; and in family feuds, any deference (if it can be so called) to the constituted authorities was, in sequence to some outrage, to apply to them rather as allies, than as arbitrators, the aggressors making out a case for support, and the aggressed for protection and relief.

There is much, therefore, that is curious in the history of these feuds; and though the contemporary accounts are often prolix, yet they are at the same time so quaint and graphic, as to warrant the selection of copious extracts.

The feud, perhaps, best remembered in the County, is that of the Ross and Tirwhit families, owing to a traditional anecdote connected with it, thus related in the modern Histories of Lincolnshire. "The spirit of rivalry was carried to such a pitch by their vassals, that, on the two parties meeting on a hunting excursion, they proceeded to blows, and many were killed on both sides." It goes on further to say, that "King James the First, being soon afterwards in Lincolnshire, ordered a gallows to be erected on the spot where the fight occurred, and caused it to be enacted that in future any person, slain in an encounter of this kind, should be deemed murdered, and the perpetrator of the crime hanged." Weir's Lincolnshire, p. 189.

The well-known dread of James against turbulence, and

* Acknowledgments are due to Arthur Larken, Esq., for assistance in collecting the materials for this account.

his fondness for summary jurisdiction, render the relation characteristic enough ; nevertheless, it is most probably an embellishment of the real facts. The occurrence to which it alludes, instead of being shortly before, took place about two hundred years previous to any visit of James to Lincolnshire ; and the fact of the erection of the gallows,[1] is said by Camden, to be kept up by the Earls of Rutland, without any allusion to James. Moreover, at the very period of the accession of the Stuarts, the family quarrel, if it had not been extinct years before, must surely then have ceased, for it singularly happened that the actual possessor of Kettleby, Robert Tirwhit, was the husband of Lady Bridget Manners, the daughter of the owner of Melton, and the representative of the Rosses.[2]

Camden's Britann. vol. ii. p. 388.

Collins, vol. i. p. 483, edit. 1812.

The feud, in fact, arose as follows :—In the year 1411, 13 Henry IV., Sir Robert Tirwhit (a *Justice of the King's Bench*, let it be observed) seized and laid waste, with a retinue of five hundred followers, the Manor of Melton Ross, belonging to William Lord Ross. It is probable that Lord Ross having much larger possessions elsewhere, was not resident at Melton ; whereas, Kettleby was the chief seat of the Tirwhits, which may account for the superiority of force brought by the latter family. Eventually, Sir Robert was forced to confess his fault before Henry IV., and to agree to the award made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Gray, Chamberlain to the King. The conclusion of the decree of the arbitrators is very characteristic of the times :—

"It was enjoyned to the s^d^ Sir Robt. Tirwhit that at a day certaine he should prepare at Melton Ross 2 Tunnes of Gascoygne Wyne, 2 fatt oxen, 120 fatt shepe, and other preparation fit therefor ; and that hee should bringe thither all Knightes, Esquires and Yeomen that were of his crew, when they should all confess theire faults to y^e^ Lord Rosse, and crave pardon, and further offer to y^e^ Lord Rosse 500 marks in recompence, and y^e^ Lord Rosse

Lans. MSS. 2076, fol. 593.

[1] The gallows was renewed by Lord Yarborough, the possessor of Melton, about twenty years ago, according to the information of M. Graburn, Esq., the resident on the estate.

[2] One circumstance attending the marriage may, however, be thought as tending to revive rather than allay the feud—it took place after an elopement.—*Lodge*, vol. ii. p. 479.

should refuse y^e^ money, grant them pardon, and take y^e^ dinner only." Thus both judgment and pardon are made to appear as proceeding, not from the arbitrator, but the complainant.

Cases of civil dissension became at this period, or soon after, very prevalent between the great families and the Ecclesiastical establishments of the county. The former, materially weakened during the wars of the Roses, found much was exacted from them as a right, which hitherto had been bestowed out of a spirit of pious patronage. The feud of the Delalaunds and the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, seated at Temple Bruer, is an apt illustration of this. The Delalaunds inherited, by marriage from the Esshebys, the lordship of Ashby Delalaund, and in the days of their prosperity were considered as the patrons and benefactors of their neighbours at Temple Bruer; but the Delalaunds (owing, there is reason to suppose, to the political changes of the times[3]) became, in the reign of Henry VII., much impoverished in circumstances. Their relation with these more wealthy Ecclesiastics was influenced by the alteration, and the endowments, before granted by, were now usurped from them. An endeavour of Robert Delalaund to recover the advowson of the Church of Ashby is slightly sketched in the History of Sleaford. In consequence of the death of Robert, the Knights defeated the attempt; but a far more characteristic aggression on their part soon after followed.

Hist. of Sleaford, 143.

John Anwicke had died, seised of a messuage in Ashby, leaving by his first wife a son, John, then a minor. At the inquisition, proving these facts, 11th December, 8 Henry VII., Robert Delalaund, as chief Lord of Ashby, became seised of the said lands, and held them in possession during the nonage of the minor. The said John Anwicke the younger was of weak intellect, and "lived in the meanwhile at Temple Bruer," as the account quaintly says, "with Sir John Boswell," (Commander of the Hospitallers)

Addit. MSS. in Brit. Museum, 4937.

[3] Sir Thomas Delalaund was seated at Horbling, only a few miles from Ashby, and bore the same arms—the supposition that he was a branch of the family is credible, though called a Gascon. Sir Thomas, as a stanch Lancastrian, was executed at Grantham, March 15, 1469; and *about this time the decay of the family commenced.*

"as his Fole and Ydeot, and was a natural Fole indede." John Anwicke, senior, had married a second wife, and this widow, Jenet, having remarried John Glayston, of Boston, was bribed by Sir John Boswell, to give up to him the evidences of the property of Anwicke Place. A will was forged to prove Jenet the inheritrix of the property, and it was pretended she had made a sale thereof to Sir John Boswell, who, previous to his departure for Rhodes, where he died, gave the estate to a natural son of his, William Boswell. During this transaction, Thomas Delalaund, son of Robert, was in his minority, and, as he says of himself, "I, the sayd Thomas Delalaund, was but poor, and in service at London," (he was in the retinue of the Earl of Oxford,) "and not able to serve the Remedie of the law." He was twelve years kept out of the property, but we are authorised to believe the justice of his statement, as he eventually, in 20 Henry VII., is said to prove the whole of his case, and to recover the estates from the feoffees.

Other aggressions were at the same time carried on by Sir Thomas Newport, successor in the commandery of Temple Bruer, in consequence of a change of road across Ashby Heath, which enabled him to claim a much larger share, as belonging to the Order. The evidence[4] on the trial is curious, as being sworn to by very aged men; and the suit seems to have gone on from the 18 Henry VII. to 3 Henry VIII. The issue is not known; but Thomas Delalaund says of his antagonists: "They are so mighty to dele with and to sue against, that a pore gentleman kan not be able to reckon his right of them, for that they do dryve such as do sew the law with them for their right to an Addit. MSS. 4937. extreme cost and labor, and that all they of their religion bear the charges of sute in comon, and that they have so many of the best learned men retained of their counsell and parte."

Ten years subsequently, in 1520 or 1521, Delalaund "piteously complaineth to Cardinal Wolsey against the Frere, John Babyngton, of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, for

[4] It is partly given in the History of Sleaford.—*Hist. of Sleaford*, 340.

certain grete injuries done to him." It is the old story of infringement of property: besides many other trespasses specified, he charges him, in the fourth article, with "having caused his Chaplain and xvi of his servaunts, in the Rogation days of the xi of the King that now is, to go in a riotous manner that is to say, with Byllys and Bows, Arrows, Swordes and Bucklers, and oder wepons, under color of a procession, ab[t] the said Hethe of Ashby:" and Babyngton answers to this, "that the said xi yere, the beginning thereof, was very dry, and the said S[r] John being at London, his Priest and v other men and iij women-persons went in procession, in peaceable devout manner about all the Temple Hethe, to pray for seasonable weather." This extract is sufficient to understand the nature of the complaint and the answer. Addit. MSS. 4937.

A few years more the Reformation extinguished this power of oppression. Thomas Delalaund, at the age of seventy-five, was still living 32 Hen. VIII., he must, therefore, have seen the total destruction of his rivals, but though he certainly had issue, it is probable that poverty also had done its work: henceforth nothing more is heard of that ancient name, and the property passed into the family whose representatives still possess it.

From the date of the Reformation the country gentry were the principal actors in county quarrels, which, though they were accompanied by much seeming violence, loud threats, and a gathering and arming of retainers, led more seldom than would be supposed to forcible collision, and still more seldom to serious casualties. No better instance of this can be given than in the case of one who was the most notorious brawler of his day.

Arthur Hall, of Grantham, a gentleman of good family, is now best known as the first translator of Homer into the English language, a task in which if he failed, it could not have been from a want of sympathy with the character of his hero. His own was formed on the same model,—

Αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη.

But let him describe himself. "No want of audacity; of sufficient courage; well-disposed to liberality; loving and

sure to his friend. On the other side, overweening of himself; furious when he is contraried; without patience to take tyme to judge, or doubte the danger of the sequel."

Quarrell of A. Hall, &c., reprint, p. 3.

The account of his dispute with Mallerie will be found in a reprint of an old tract; and his whole parliamentary career was a scene of contention. He quarrelled, first, with the public on account of privilege, then with the parliament itself, and got expelled: he libelled them, was put into prison; abused the judge who condemned him; and, lastly, attacked his constituents, because they would not pay him wages after his expulsion. These facts are only alluded to as corroborative of his character, the incident which connects him more especially with the present subject is his feud with the Thorold family.

Lans. MSS. 27, art. 79.

The MS. account has no date itself, but in the catalogue it is attributed to 1581, and this is probable, for it speaks of Anthony Thorold as being somewhat aged, and he was then sixty-one; yet it must have been before 1585, for in that year Thorold was knighted. The dispute arose from Arthur Hall having taken umbrage at the interference of Anthony Thorold, in the choice of aldermen at Grantham, on account of which he sent, 27th October, a letter to Mr. Thorold, but the contents he does not give; we may however conclude, from the circumstances which follow, that it was one of deliberate insult.

Lans. MSS. 31, No. 22.

On the 2nd November a letter was delivered to him by a servant of Mr. Thorold's, which Arthur Hall, "mistrusting that it was prejudicial to his repute and credit, and because of Mr. Thorold's age he could not have made any convenient challenge," he returned, sealed, to Marston. On the following day a second letter was given him, as if sent from London, which he opened, but did not read further than to see it was signed by Anthony Thorold, he therefore folded it up and returned it to the landlord of the George, at Grantham, through whom it came; but afterwards "considering that by being returned unsealed, it might by any be read to the disgrace of him, without any convenient challenge to Mr. Thorold, from consideration before recited, he called for the said letter and before divers tore yt in pieces." He then

explained to Mr. Thomas Ellis that "if the said Thorold had anie malice to him and would send him anie message by anie one the said Arthur Hall had equal, whereby the want in Thorold aforesaid might be satisfied, he would answer him in all respects."

On the 5th November, William Thorold the son, with two horsemen with swords and bucklers, and a footman carrying Thorold's buckler, and other footmen carrying staves, came to Grantham, to the George, and calling a meeting of certain of the townspeople, declared he came to call "the said Arthur a knave, saying he had misused his father, the cause whereof he had drank too much wine with his oysters, with many other unseemlie words." They also drew their swords upon two of Mr. Hall's men, one of whom riding back to inform Hall, he came out with Mr. John Leake and five retainers, but *the enemy he found retired.*

"On the 7th November William Thorold, with twenty-four men having swords and gauntlets, others swords and bucklers, most of them with privy cotes, came, under color of Hawking (though no Hawkes could any one see), to the stone-pits hard by the house, and asked if Hall were at home." It appears he was absent, but Mr. Charles Bawde and two servants went out to remonstrate. William Thorold said the quarrel was his on his father's behalf, for that Mr. Hall had called him knave, and retaliates with similar words. John Markham, who had married a daughter of Anthony Thorold, was in company, and said "Mr. Hall was *in latebris,* to which Mr. Bawde answered, if he had been in, he would not have hid his face from any man." There is much other vulgar altercation repeated, *but it ends in nothing.*

On the 8th, John Markham and William Thorold made another foray into the grounds with twenty men, and with greyhounds, and this night Arthur Hall was sent for. On the next day it seems to have been Hall's turn to rally his followers, and he says, "Divers of his friends and tenants came to y^e^ house offering their good-will for the defence of them and the house, because of the disorder proffered yesterday, and the day before." Mr. Hall entertained them, but afterwards, he declares, requested them earnestly to repair to

their homes, and that he "went with only nine or ten of his own men, until he came to Belton town side, but seeing his company following, he twice or thrice sent one of his men back, desiring them to goe home." The same day was the statute fair at Long Bennington, a mile and a quarter from Marston, and many of Mr. Thorold's retainers being there, it was given out "that Sir Thomas Cecil and Arthur Hall would come and pluck Mr. Thorold out of his house and fire it, and, indeed, it was reported that the House was already on fire." Between six and seven hundred repaired to Marston, and the bells were rung at Westborow to levy the people, yet again *nothing seems to have come of it.*

The following day, the 10th, Hall says he dined at the George with his friends, and had his servants armed, in order to prove that he dare show his face, contrary to the reports of William Thorold and John Markham; and then "remaining awhile after dinner he came home to his house," *a very "lame and impotent conclusion" to what at first appeared a very "pretty quarrel."* The affair seems to have been inquired into before the justices at Ancaster, but no issue reported.

Old Anthony Thorold survived all his sons, and died 1594. Arthur Hall did not die till 3 James I., and it is singular that in after-years his son Cecil Hall married the niece of his old antagonist, viz. Alice, daughter of Sir Edmund Thorold, half brother of Sir Anthony. The family of Markham concerned in this quarrel were embroiled on other occasions. In the Rawlinson manuscripts are some challenges that passed between them and the Hollis family, of too gross language to be here repeated, and indeed they have more relation to the county of Notts. In the Talbot MSS. at the Herald's College is a letter to Lord Shrewsbury from John Bonn, wishing him to interfere to keep the peace on this occasion. One of these Markhams afterwards, in 1616, was fined in the Star Chamber for a libellous letter arising out of a hunting quarrel with Lord Darcy. The story is amusing, but not relative to the present subject.

Harl. MSS. 1233.

Rawlinson MSS. 88.

Talbot MSS. H. 531.

Harl. MSS. 3638, art. 2.

That occasionally these feuds were not without serious casualties may be evidenced by a letter of Richard Thimelby,

of Irnham, in 1592, to Lord Shrewsbury,* narrating a rencounter with some retainers of his Lordship's brother, Henry Talbot; but the particulars in connection with this affair are scanty, and the relation to which we shall now pass will be amply sufficient to understand how family differences were at that time conducted. Talbot MSS. I. 147.

During the reign of Elizabeth, the man who kept the county in the greatest irritation was the peer who took from it his title. Henry, second Earl of Lincoln, passed a life, the whole object of which seems to have been quarrel. With his inferiors he was tyrannical, with his equals suspicious and aggressive. It is said of Denzil Hollis, that, "living much at Irby, he used to confront Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, who was a great tyrant among the gentry of Lincolnshire, and to carry business against him in spite of his teeth." Denzil Hollis died in 1590: subsequent to this the Earl's conduct certainly increased in violence, though at no period was it distinguished by forbearance. Lodge speaks of a Roger Fullshaw of Waddingworth, who, in 1596, prayed for protection against the most horrible outrages committed by the Earl, and yet in that same year, unfit as such a man seems for diplomacy, he was sent upon an embassy to the Landgrave of Hesse, and his conduct at that court is bitterly arraigned by Mr. Anthony Bacon. Lodge says his whole behaviour is strongly tinctured by insanity, and indeed there is no other way for accounting for much that will appear in the course of the narrative. Thornton's Hist. of Notts. vol. iii. p. 360. Collin's Peer. vol. i. p. 207.

Before he succeeded to the title, and consequently when he had not so much power to oppress, the following series of aggressions took place on his neighbours, the Savilles of Powlam. It is necessary to premise that Sir Robert Saville, though he was a knight of good estate (much of which he acquired by marriage with a daughter of Sir Robert Hussey, and in her right, as widow of Sir Richard Thimelby, lived at Powlam, near Tattershall) and though his descendants became Earls of Sussex, nevertheless was a natural son of Sir Henry Saville, by Margaret Barkston, "his Ladies' Gentlewoman," a circumstance not forgotten, as will be seen by his lordly adversary. The occurrences took place Lans. MSS. 27, art. 41.

in 1578. They were neighbours, and jealous of trespass. There is evidently some previous misunderstanding unmentioned, but, on the 13th June, Lord Clinton, "with 7 men, with cross-bowes and long bowes bent," forced himself into the parlour of Powlam, and, after threatening words, struck Sheffield Saville, the son, over the head. The elder Saville says he prevented his son from noticing the outrage. On the 25th June following, Lord Clinton hearing Sir Robert's hounds hunting in Mr. Welby's wood, seized five of them, and then sent a threatening letter that he would hang them before his house, and, in fact, ten days after, did hang them as Sir Robert says, "upon my own tree within my own ground." The next affray may be described from a letter of the Earl's friend, Mr. Metham, which, allowing for a trifling bias, little differs from the account given by the Savilles. Lans. MSS. 27, art. 52. Early in July, Thomas Metham, having previously received Lord Clinton at Metham, was on a return visit at Tattershall, and (as Metham relates) "it pleased him" (Lord Clinton) "to carry me with my companye through his parke unto the chase, where his meaning was to have made sport wth hounds and greyhounds, and leading us by into the meadows he shewed me certain of the great deer of the chase, such as he kept rather for shew than to be hunted." The deer, it appears, broke away into Mr. Welby's woods, and "thence, as my Lord affirmed with an oath, into the mouths of the Savilles." Lord Clinton's retinue followed the hounds; Lord Clinton himself (according to Metham) did not, but in passing along a lane encountered some of the Saville followers, "in number 20 or 24, the more part having swords, bucklers, and daggers, some pyked staves, one a cross-bow with an arrowe, another a long bow and arrows:" while words were passing, "ould Mr. Saville" came up, and the following uncourteous dialogue was the result. "My Lord Clinton, yf thou be a man light and fight with me." "With thee, Bastardlye knave," quoth my Lord, "I will deal with thee well enough, and teach thee, knave, thy duty. Upon which words Mr. Saville called my Lord a cowardly knave," and challenges passed between them and with Sheffield Saville, who, upon Metham seeing the poignancy of the words just spoken, and

withdrawing (as he says) Lord Clinton by the arm, called out after him, "You a Lord, you are a kitchen boy." Sir Robert, after their departure, having got hold of one of Lord Clinton's dogs, meant, the letter says, "to use it with like courtesy as my Lord had done his." This is unintentionally admitting the former aggression. Metham relates that Lord Clinton again approached Sir Robert's house, and that a challenge passed through John Saville to fight six to six, "w^{ch} by good entreaty was stayed." Metham acknowledges to know no more; but Saville, in his narrative, says, that the followers of Lord Clinton were entertained at Horncastle, the same day, with a buck; and getting hold of an unfortunate tailor, some ten or twelve of them drew their swords upon him and sore wounded him, saying he should have that and more for his master's sake, Mr. Sheffield Saville. Lans. MSS. 27, art. 41.

It would be tedious to relate all the ways invented by the Earl to annoy his opponents. They are detailed in certainly not less than eleven articles, but the MS. is torn and so decayed, as not to be easily decipherable. At one time he overran the lands of Powlam with sixty men, armed with guns, cross-bows, and long-bows; at another, intercepted and ill-treated all the messengers sent to Tattershall on domestic errands; incited the neighbours to send challenges; tried to entice into the park the younger Savilles, and laid ambushes for them; and made false charges against the poorer tenants, one of whom in consequence died in prison; moreover, the Earl is accused of malversation in respect to the money raised in the previous January, for the levy of troops in Lincolnshire.

The Earl's character leads us to suppose that these accusations are not much exaggerated. His conduct to his own tenants at Tattershall was so atrocious, that at last, in 1594, they made open complaints of his treatment. He inclosed their commons, and if found on them he fined or put them in the stocks as trespassers. He even took away their highway, arbitrarily altered their ancient custom in the payment of tithes, and, what seemed especially to scandalise his poor neighbours, "The said Earl hath taken away a part of the churchyard, and putt it into Lans. MSS. 77, art. 52.

his mote, so that divers people were digged up, some green and lately buried, and thrown into the mote to fill up :" then follows the specification of many oppressions exercised against particular tenants mentioned by name.

Lans. MSS. 77, art. 52.

But all these forays are mere episodes in his life. The one great quarrel continuing for years, was with his cousin, Sir Edward Dymoke. In one of the Dodsworth's MSS., but without date, it says it had then lasted twelve years, and as there is an answer of Sir Edward Dymoke, written in 1594, it supplies the omission, and the feud must have begun in 1582 or a few years before the old Earl's death. The same MS. supplies sufficient for us to ascertain the cause, which arose out of the inheritance of property, resented more bitterly from the nearness of kin. The relationship between the Dymokes and the Earl of Lincoln is rather complicated. Sir Edward Dymoke's grandfather (also called Sir Edward) married Ann, the sister of Gilbert, Lord Talbois. The widow of Lord Talbois, the celebrated Elizabeth Blount, mistress of Henry the Eighth, remarried the Earl of Lincoln, and had three daughters, co-heirs ; of these, Bridget married Sir Robert Dymoke, son of Sir Edward and father of the second Sir Edward. Henry, Earl of Lincoln, being son by a second wife, was half-brother to Lady Bridget Dymoke. Thus Sir Edward's grandmother was only sister by marriage to the old Countess of Lincoln, and Sir Edward's mother half-sister to the Earl. Lord Lincoln seems to have accused Sir Edward Dymoke of being indebted to his family for the inheritance of Kyme, to which Sir Edward replies, that as the Talbois family in the male line was extinct, his grandmother, the sister of the last Lord, was heir-at-law not only of Kyme, but would have been so of much larger property if it had not been dissipated by the daughter of Lord Talbois, who married the Earl of Warwick, and was the half-sister of Lady Bridget Dymoke, and that in reparation she left Kyme, which was all that remained, to Sir Robert and Lady Bridget Dymoke, while the old people (the Earl of Lincoln and Sir Edward) only joined in the conveyance to see the property sufficiently assured. It is certainly clear, that Henry, Earl of Lincoln, had little claim to the Talbois property, his only

Dodsworth MSS. vol. 49, fol. 93.

connection with it being by his step-mother. The Earl also taunted Sir Edward that it was only by alliance with his family he derived his ancestral honours, in refutation of which a long genealogical analysis is given to prove that "for more than 500 years before y^e^ match with y^e^ said Earl's daughter, the Dymokes have ever matched in very honorable houses, by w^ch^ matches they have both large inheritance and good title to honor." Dodsworth MSS. vol. 49, fol. 94.

The feud was not only in full force in 1594, as appears from a letter of Lord Lincoln of the 27th October, but his old enmity to the Savilles was, after sixteen years, still rife. He begs of Lord Burleigh for favourable assistance "in these great and rare extremities of dangers, long practised by Sir Edward Dymoke and Saville, and still prosecuted most malitiously and cunningly by his servants and agents, who spare no indyrect means to endanger my life, kill my servants, to make me odious by raising others to make continual accusation to your Honour." (This probably referred to the complaint, in the same year, of the tenants at Tattershall, but no one indulged in such accusations more recklessly than the Earl of Lincoln). In the year subsequent, 1595, there is another long letter to the Lord Treasurer, in which, first denying the authorship of a libel on Sir Edward, he trusts that this shall not warrant Sir Edward "to deface any nobleman or gentleman in his country, by setting up cartels and challenges upon the crosses in market towns where they dwell, even in the tyme of the chiefest assemblies of the sessions at one place; at the tyme of assembly to a sermon, and during divine prayer on Sunday at another; yea, by sending his cartel unto the dwelling-house of my son, when he was with his sick wife, lying then in Cannon-row;" all which he terms his Italian revenge. Another letter of the 21st November still harps upon the "unnatural practices many years contryved by Sir Edward Dymock and his complices," among whom he includes Armyne, and calls him Sir Edward's cousin. Bartholomew Armine had certainly married Ann, heiress of the Dymoke of Friskney, but this branch had separated from the parent stock in the time of Richard the Second, more Harl. MSS. 6996, 1114. Harl. MSS. 6997, art. 39. Harl. MSS. 6997, art. 67.

than 200 years before. Another letter, without date, speaks of his "ancient enemies, known," Dymoke, Askough, and Armine. Sir Edward Ayscough was the Earl's own brother-in-law. In fact Lord Lincoln seems to have had the common characteristic of a madman, that of imagining every one plotting for some dangerous purpose against him.

There are other letters on the same point, but we will pass to four or five years later, when the Earl was accessory to a singular kind of revenge upon the Dymokes; a little previous explanation of the family history is, however, necessary.

Sir Edward Dymoke, his father having died intestate, took upon himself the provision for his sisters; of them, Mary married a Mr. John Shute, to whom he gave with her a dowry of 400*l.*, and a lease worth 80*l.* per annum, a fortune sufficiently handsome in that day. Shute was a man of extravagant and dissipated habits, spending his own inheritance and what he got with his wife, in, as the MS. says, "Aqua vitæ, seck, tobacco, and other misdemeanours." These misdemeanours, by the bye, include acts of very great profligacy. Sir Edward, finding that if the husband died, his sister would be left penniless, as the lease had been sold, pressed Shute to settle something out of the remnants of his fortune on his wife, and Shute first promised 500*l.*, then 100*l.*; at length Mrs. Shute got out of him "with much ado, three-score and fifteen pounds," which she brought to Lady Dymoke to keep for her and her children. Sir Edward had not only for some time to support his sister, but her husband being arrested, she drew out at divers times the whole money lodged with Lady Dymoke, so that not more than twelve pounds remained, and they seem to have taken advantage of a regular acquittance not having past, to endeavour to get the whole money paid over again. This was an incident the Earl of Lincoln was but too happy to take advantage of. He, as Sir Edward says, "did egge and sett y^e^ said John Shute forward to attempt my patience," and consequently he came to Scrivelsby, but Sir Edward would not see him, offering, however, to pay the remainder of the deposit money. "To this he answereth nothing, but railing and raging, swore by great oaths he would speak with me, whether I would or no, being

Lans. MSS. 161, 209.

angry, as it should seem he could carrie my Lord of Lincoln no newes to please him, by my overshooting myself in anger. Hereupon I called two of my men to lead him gentlie out of my house, w^ch^ they did w^th^ their hattes in their hands, entreating him to be patient, without anie violence or yvll wordes, as they will be readie to depose, all w^ch^ he aggravated to my good lorde the Earl, the vere same day." It is worthy of remark, that Sir Edward Dymoke always in his communications speaks of the Earl with a certain degree of fear and respect.

The next mode of annoyance is the one most characteristic of the time. During a short absence of Sir Edward, in August, 1599, Mrs. Shute came to Scrivelsby, and was hospitably received; in return for which she complained unto the Justices of Kesteven, of certain words spoken by Lady Dymoke, touching prophecies: "herewith also was my honorable Lord, the Earl of Lincoln made acquainted, and hath lent the complainants money to bring them to London, and animated them to this complaint." Such was the uncertain state of the Government at this period, that it was thought worth while to appoint a commission of Lord Willoughby and Mr. Hennage, to inquire into this statement; and the report was to the following effect. Mrs. Shute, at the dinner-table, having been asked what news there was at Boston from which she last came, answered, "None good; for the King of Spain did vowe to be in England on Saturday following, and y^t^ he had sent word to the Queen that he did not care if her Ma^tie^ knew he came to London;" and a disbelief being expressed, Mrs. Shute said again, "they came so provided that they did not doubt to invade England." Lady Dymoke's reply was, "that she hoped that should never be soe, for there was one Mr. Ealand here not two days ago, that told me that in 1588, there was an Italian writt a book to y^e^ King of Spain, and tould him that if at that time he came he should never land, and this year being 1599, he hath writt another book to the King of Spain, that if he doe come perhaps he may land, and see y^e^ corne, but shall never taste of it. Katharyne Monson, Lady Dymoke's sister," (for they were both daughters of Sir John Monson, of Carleton,)

Lans. MSS. 161, 209.

"having then asked whether this book was sent to the King of Spain, the said Examinant answered it was, and therefore the King of Spain is but a fool to come, seeing the other proved so true. Then Mrs. Shute answered, Mr. Ashfield had confessed that the King of Scotts had assured y^e^ King of Spain 40,000 strong in England. Then the said Examinant answered, she did not believe that the King of Scottes would make war against England; and these be all the words that passed between them, touching any of the matters aforesaid." It is needless to add, that the Commissioners, in their report, found no such offence as was conceived, but it is amusing as compared with the times in which we are now living, to see the speeches (uttered in private society too) that were thought worthy of official inquiry.

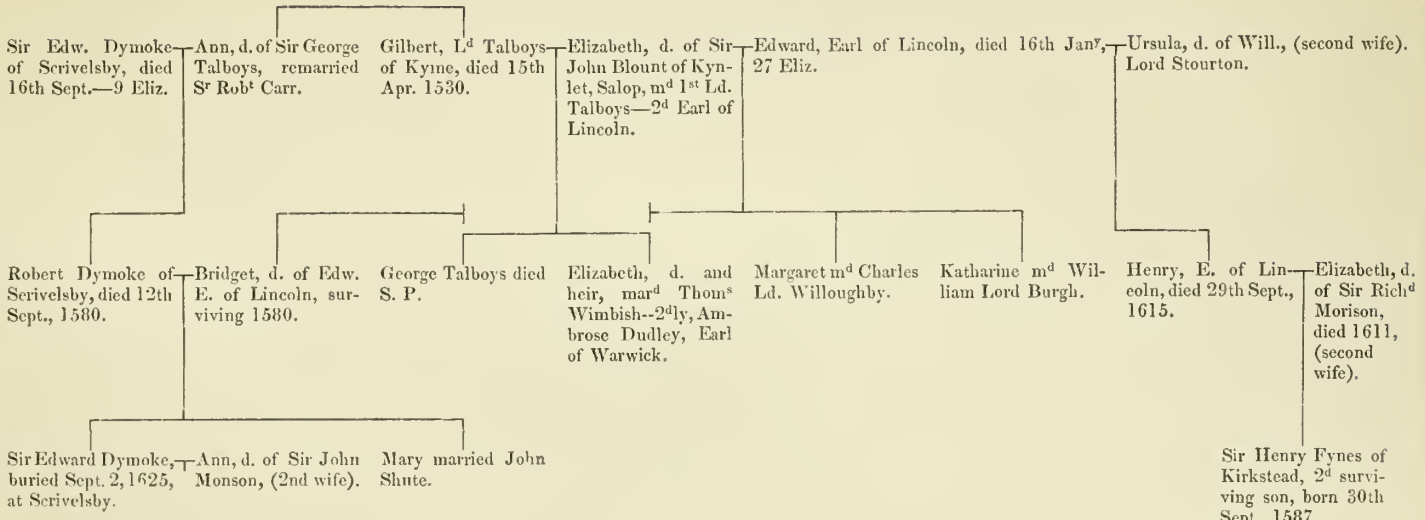
The Earl of Lincoln and Sir Edward Dymoke both lived for some years after. Many letters show that the Earl's affairs became embarrassed, and his irregularities threatened him, in the words of his own letter, "with high preferment to the Fleet." Nevertheless, he forgot not his old animosities. In the amusing Autobiography of his son Sir Henry Fynes, Sir Henry says, "at his Father's command, and only to cross Sir Edward Dymoke," he begged a lease his Majesty had of Horncastle, and this lease he owns turned out worth nothing. But there is a valuable moral in the conclusion of this history. After the Earl's undeviating tyranny against this son had called forth a severe reproval from the King himself, the natural consequence of oppression and bad example followed. The latter end of the Earl's life was embittered by lawsuits prosecuted against him by his own child; and after his death, his two sons inherited his propensity for violence, and, until the death of the eldest, never ceased from mutual aggressions.

Talbot MSS. K. 15.

Bridge's Peers of England, p. 51.

With the commencement of the seventeenth century this account of Lincolnshire feuds must be brought to a close. During the reign of Charles I., the scenes of family violence that occurred, arose more out of political differences, and henceforth our dissensions gradually subsided from the turbulent manifestations of the early times, into the more slow, but peaceable course of modern litigation.

PEDIGREE TO SHOW THE CONNECTION OF THE DYMOKE, TALBOYS, AND FYNES FAMILIES.


Sir Edw. Dymoke of Scrivelsby, died 16th Sept.—9 Eliz.
Ann, d. of Sir George Talboys, remarried Sr Robt Carr.
Gilbert, Ld Talboys of Kyme, died 15th Apr. 1530.
Elizabeth, d. of Sir John Blount of Kynlet, Salop, md 1st Ld. Talboys—2d Earl of Lincoln.
Edward, Earl of Lincoln, died 16th Jany, 27 Eliz.
Ursula, d. of Will., (second wife). Lord Stourton.
Robert Dymoke of Scrivelsby, died 12th Sept., 1580.
Bridget, d. of Edw. E. of Lincoln, surviving 1580.
George Talboys died S. P.
Elizabeth, d. and heir, mard Thoms Wimbish--2dly, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.
Margaret md Charles Ld. Willoughby.
Katharine md William Lord Burgh.
Henry, E. of Lincoln, died 29th Sept., 1615.
Elizabeth, d. of Sir Richd Morison, died 1611, (second wife).
Sir Edward Dymoke, buried Sept. 2, 1625, at Scrivelsby.
Ann, d. of Sir John Monson, (2nd wife).
Mary married John Shute.
Sir Henry Fynes of Kirkstead, 2d surviving son, born 30th Sept., 1587.

THE GENTLEMEN'S SOCIETY AT SPALDING,

WITH NOTICES OF THE RESEARCHES AND LABOURS OF THE EARLIEST LINCOLNSHIRE ANTIQUARIES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MOORE, D.D.,
PREBENDARY OF LINCOLN, AND PRESIDENT OF THE SPALDING SOCIETY.

In order to form a correct idea of the circumstances under which "The Gentlemen's Society" at Spalding was first established, it will be necessary to mark the progress which had been made, at that period, by the learned men of this country, in the investigation and study of antiquities.

In the earlier part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a number of persons, who were impressed with the obvious importance of endeavouring to collect and preserve the vast number of Records and other valuable documents which had been scattered abroad by the pillage of the Monasteries, held their meetings, for the mutual communicating of information upon these subjects, at the house of Sir Robert Cotton, under the patronage of Archbishop Parker. In process of time they had it in contemplation to apply to the Queen for a charter; reciting in their petition, in order to show the importance of their design, that King Edward the First, when he was searching for proofs of his title to the crown of Scotland, ordered diligent inquiry to be made in the libraries of the Monasteries; and that Henry the Eighth did the same, when he was desirous to bring evidence against the usurpations of the Pope. This petition was signed by Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Dodderidge, and Sir James Lee; but whether it was ever presented is a matter of doubt. The Society, however, continued to exist for thirty years, having numbered among its members in that period the names of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Burleigh, Henry Earl of Arundel, the two Herberts Earls of Pembroke, Sir Henry Savile, Bishop

Early Antiquaries.

Andrewes, John Stowe, and William Camden. Its dissolution was owing to the suspicious policy of James the First, who is said to have been afraid, at the time of his accession, lest these prying antiquaries should get an insight into the arcana of kingcraft. In 1617, an unsuccessful attempt was made for its revival, through the mediation of the favourite, Buckingham. During the disturbed state of the country, in the civil wars, certain eminent scholars pursued their researches in private, frequently communicating with each other, but not holding stated meetings. Among these were Dugdale, Dodsworth, Somner, Spelman, Selden, D'Ewes, Usher, and Ashmole. Ashmole in his diary mentions some kind of mustering which they had, about the time of the Restoration, called the Antiquaries' Feast; and after this the learned body seem to have been dormant for nearly half a century.

In the year 1707, we find symptoms of stirring among them. A few gentlemen, with the intention of prosecuting investigations into the ancient history of Great Britain, began to hold weekly meetings at the various coffee-houses near the Temple. In 1710, we find the names of Browne Willis, the two Gales, Stukeley, Rymer, and Maurice Johnson. A sketch of the different heads under which they proposed to carry on their researches is still extant. In 1717, they formed themselves into a regular Society, electing a president and other officers. Previously to this it seems to have been agreed, that as soon as their funds should prove sufficient to enable them to buy books, Maurice Johnson should be appointed their librarian.

Origin of the Society of Antiquaries: Maurice Johnson to be its Librarian.

Maurice Johnson, however, was now removed from the congenial society of London, to his native town of Spalding. He had exchanged the company of wits, at Button's Coffee-House;—and of antiquaries, at the Temple Change;—the company of Addison, Gay, and Steele,—of Willis, Stukeley and the Gales,—for the ordinary society of a country town. And so great was his love of learning and science, that he at once entertained the bold design of establishing a Literary Society in the very heart of the fens of Lincoln. It was, as

he said very truly, "an endeavour new, and untried before." The persons to whom he looked for aid were "unaccustomed to such a mode of spending an evening." He was himself "only just arrived at manhood:"—and "all his advisers and encouragers were at a great distance." Yet did he resolve well, and manfully persevere. Taking care not to alarm the country gentlemen by any premature mention of *antiquities*, he endeavoured at first to allure them into the more flowery paths of literature. In 1709, a few of them were brought together every post-day, at the Coffee-house in the Abbey Yard; and after one of the party had read aloud the last-published number of the "Tatler," they proceeded to talk over the subject among themselves. Thus were "the men of sense and letters," he says, "drawn insensibly into a sociable way of conversing." After a while the "Spectators" were read in like manner; and now and then a new poem, by Gay or Parnell, was brought forward, or an essay or letter upon some subject of polite literature. These papers were carefully preserved, and the attention of the gentlemen was turned to the formation of a library. In 1712, so well satisfied were they with the proceedings of the last three years, that it was determined to place their meetings upon a footing of permanence. Proposals were issued for the establishing of "a Society of Gentlemen, for the supporting of mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the liberal sciences and in polite learning." A president was elected, and a short code of laws was issued for the regulation of their meetings: their founder modestly undertaking the subordinate office of secretary, and at once commencing the Minutes of their transactions. The first recorded subject of their examination was the sketch of an ancient monumental stone and inscription, in Peterborough Cathedral. At the next meeting, the secretary communicated two poetical epistles, the one in Latin, from a gentleman at Eton to his friend; the other in English, upon the departure of the Duke of Marlborough to take the command of the Allied Forces, in Germany. He also read a paper on the "Choice of Colours and Materials for Miniature Painting," after the directions of Albert Durer and others.

Spalding Society in its infancy.

Maurice Johnson its secretary.

In these Minutes of the first two meetings which have been recorded, we have a fair specimen of the range of subjects into which they pursued their investigations. Under the head of polite literature, besides ephemeral productions such as those above mentioned, sundry pieces by Swift, Prior, Arbuthnot, Eusden, Young, Gay, and Pope, were read as they came out. Several, indeed, of the poems of Gay and Pope were communicated by the authors themselves, with whom Maurice Johnson had become acquainted at Button's Coffee-house during his residence in London. In 1751, we find it on the minutes, that a certain "Elegy in a Country Church-yard" was read, which had just before come out anonymously. Under the head of Arts and Science, we may class the communications which were made, from time to time, upon painting, sculpture, and music; upon anatomy and medicine; upon mathematics and mechanics. The fens around them furnished curious specimens in ornithology; and the fen-men listened with peculiar interest to the description of engines and machines for draining. For their botanical studies, they were supplied with rare plants and flowers from the garden of their secretary, and also from a physic-garden of their own.

But the favourite and most fruitful subject was that of Antiquities. Among the monastic institutions of the district, proverbially rich and magnificent, a conspicuous place was occupied by the mitred Priory of Spalding. Of this foundation many chartularies and registers were still in existence, some of them in public libraries, and some in the possession of the secretary himself, to whom they had descended from his great-grandfather, Sir Richard Ogle, who was one of Queen Elizabeth's commissioners for inquiries respecting Abbey lands. From these ancient records he communicated, from time to time, much valuable information relating to the town and priory, amounting at last to a continuous and complete history. And when other subjects failed,—"on a pinch," as he says, "and to enliven our chat," he brought out in chronological order his own ample collection of coins, exhibiting them "with some discourse." By such communications, aided by those which he elicited from Stukeley, Gale, and others at a distance,

Spalding Priory.

as well as from the more intelligent members on the spot, he raised the Society to an eminence which has perhaps never been reached by any provincial society whatever, under similar circumstances; and at which it remained for the long period of forty years. "By the favour of Providence," as he piously expresses it, his exertions were crowned with success. He never lost an opportunity of asking for communications and correspondence, backing his request by the authority of Sir Isaac Newton, who had recommended it as the surest way to keep the Society in active operation. He adopted every form of solicitation. To one person he says: "Your letters will more promote science among *us* fen-men, (who are thought to labour under a very stupid air,) than the missionaries of Rome have promoted religion, truly so called, among the Chinese."

Interview with Sir Isaac Newton.

The interview with Sir Isaac Newton, just alluded to, took place in 1720. Having, at the suggestion of Dr. Jurin, addressed a letter to him, Maurice Johnson was requested to call at Newton's house, in St. Martin's-street, Leicester-square. The reception he met with was extremely courteous. The venerable philosopher kept him in conversation for some time, "highly commending" the Society at Spalding, and giving his consent to become a member of it; "although he was now declining almost everything, and did not go even to the Royal Society."

In 1733, the Archi-mandrite or Abbot of one of the convents on Mount Athos, who was travelling with his chaplain, probably for the purpose of soliciting contributions for his convent, was present at a meeting of the Society; and in compliance with his own request, written by him in Romaic or modern Greek in the Minutes, he was admitted as an honorary member. In fact, the Society had members in every part of the globe. At one time they receive a present of minerals and fossils from Norway; and at another time a letter is read from one of their members residing at Panama.

They exhibited on all occasions a praiseworthy desire to admit as many as could attend, to a participation in their privileges and advantages. The master of the Grammar School at Spalding was allowed to bring one of his upper boys to

each of the meetings: and as the "auditores" were admitted for five years in the Academies of ancient Greece, so were these youths encouraged to listen and to learn. Several of them became afterwards intelligent and useful members of the Society.

We cannot be surprised to find that, during the long period of forty-five years, there were times when it was found difficult to carry on the proceedings "with becoming dignity and spirit." The professional men were "liable to constant interruption" from professional duties; and the young were "allured, and deterred, and drawn away, by parties of pleasure," and by the more congenial amusements of "dancing, cards, bowls, billiards, and the like." Besides which, the subject of politics, "upon which every man thinks himself wise," was carefully excluded by the rules. It must have required, not only considerable energy and perseverance, but also much courtesy and tact, to surmount these obstacles. In short, it was the work of no ordinary mind to plan, and establish, and maintain for the period of nearly half a century, in that isolated district, a Society which "earned the approbation of eminent philosophers, and of persons held in reverence by the whole learned world;" numbering among its members the names of Newton and Bentley, of Pope, Addison, and Gay. Other societies were formed after its example and model, some of which met with tolerable success; but the rest, "though in cities of greater frequency of men brought up and beneficed for letters," proved abortive.

In order to gratify as much as possible the tastes of all the parties concerned, it was agreed that the anniversary meeting of the Society should be celebrated by a dinner; but the Secretary has recorded his complaint, that this dinner proved "an idle and expensive mode of helping the Society, feeding the body rather than the mind." A Concert was also given, "in order that the Society might have an opportunity of entertaining the ladies, and treating them with a glass of wine." He politely acknowledges that this "answered well, and did the Institution credit and service." In 1741, a parody, written by Lord Bacon, upon a Greek epigram of Posidippus on the vanity of human life,

which was sometimes sung on grand days in the Middle Temple Hall "to the original music," was sung at this meeting by Dr. Heighington, a musician of some eminence, accompanied by his son.

Maurice Johnson the President.

After discharging the laborious duties of Secretary for thirty years, Mr. Johnson was the President for the remainder of his life. As he advanced in years, it gave satisfaction to the good old man to present to the Society communications from four of his sons, whom he had "taken care to train up to a liking of it from their infancy." His son *Maurice*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Cumberland's Foot Guards, and Aide-de-camp to the Duke, sent, at one time, an account of the Battle of Dettingen,—at other times, drawings and descriptions of Roman remains, altars, coins, statues, and monumental inscriptions, which he had met with during the campaign in Germany. *John*, another son, who was a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, sent down the poetical effusions of the wits of his University. *Martin*, from on board his Majesty's ship "Experiment," sent accounts of the proceedings of the fleet under Admiral Vernon. And *Walter*, who resided on the spot, gave his aid to the Society, not only as an active member, but also by discharging the office of Treasurer. In 1753 appears an entry in the Minutes, in the well-known hand-writing of the venerable founder, but less firm and vigorous than in former days, complaining that age will not permit him to perform, in so accurate a manner as he would wish, the task of making an index to the Society's papers and records. He was afflicted with a disorder in the head, which in 1755 put an end to his life. Of those twelve gentlemen who sat, nearly half a century before, to hear the weekly reading of the "Tatler" and the "Spectator," probably Maurice Johnson was the only one who survived to hear the "Rambler," which came out about this time, and was read as the others had been. To say that the Society died when its founder died, would scarcely be correct: but it can excite little surprise to find that it soon sank to the condition of an ordinary country club; tending perhaps, in some degree, to promote "mutual benevolence," but doing

very little to improve its members "in the liberal sciences, or in polite literature."

It appears that Mr. Johnson's sons, to whom he chiefly trusted for the future maintenance of the Society, so seldom resided at Ayscough Fee Hall, the family seat there, that they were unable to devote the personal attention and support essential to the preservation of the Institution. As he himself observed in a letter to his friend Gale, "realms and all communities have their periods." Nevertheless, as Gale in return assured him would be the case, — the "Supellex Literaria" of the Society still remains, "a glorious monument of the public spirit and learning of its founder, and the record of a noble attempt, which otherwise would scarcely be credited by posterity."

W. M.

Note.—Mrs. Dinham, of Spalding, daughter of Colonel Johnson, and grand-daughter of the intelligent founder of the Society in that town, has, with kind liberality, presented to the Institute the Portrait accompanying this memoir. This gratifying memorial of cordial interest in the endeavours of modern Archæologists to pursue the researches which Maurice Johnson first promoted in Lincolnshire, will be received with much satisfaction by the Members of the Institute; and the Central Committee desire to record their hearty acknowledgment of this generous contribution to the Lincolnshire Volume.

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE PAINTED GLASS IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL AND SOUTHWELL MINSTER:

WITH SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON GLASS PAINTING.

I PROPOSE in this paper to give some account of the remains of ancient painted glass existing in Lincoln Cathedral, and Southwell Minster. But as I have reason to believe that the subject of Glass Painting is far from being generally understood, and that it has not received that degree of attention which it deserves, whether considered as occupying a prominent place among the arts of the Middle Ages, or as an art which the taste of the present day has caused to be extensively revived; I shall venture to take a wider range than is absolutely necessary, and instead of confining myself to a description of these remains, combine with it such an account of the process of glass painting, and of its past history and variations, as by affording some knowledge of the practical details of the art, may remove an obstacle, which meeting the antiquary or amateur at his first entrance on the study of glass painting, often deters him from pursuing the subject, or giving due attention to it. In conclusion I shall offer a few remarks on the present practice of the art, and suggestions for removing some of the difficulties which beset its advancement.

The art of Painting on Glass, which it may be proper to state is very different from the art of making coloured glass—an art of remote antiquity—was probably suggested by the very ancient practice of painting on earthenware with enamel, and the use of coloured glass in mosaics: but from the silence of classical authors on the subject, the absence of antique specimens, and the character of ancient buildings, as well domestic as public, it seems to have been invented subsequently to the coming of our Lord. Yet although it

cannot be carried back beyond the Christian era, the art is undoubtedly of considerable antiquity, as the Treatise on the subject, which is found in the second book of the "Diversarum artium Schedula" of Theophilus, is of itself sufficient to prove. This treatise, which is as early as the tenth century, describes so perfect and complete a process of glass painting, as to justify the conclusion that the art itself must have been invented at a much earlier period.[1] So perfect indeed is the method given in the Treatise, (which has been rendered accessible to the general reader by the recent publication of a French, and two English translations)[2] that it continued to be followed, without any material change, until almost the middle of the sixteenth century. But to however remote a period the invention of the art may be referred, the most ancient specimens of it which at present exist, are not so early as even the tenth century. The oldest existing painted glass to which a date can, with certainty, be assigned, has been considered by M. de Lasteyrie, and other eminent French antiquaries, to be the remains of the glass at St. Denys; which was painted in the middle of the twelfth century, by order of Abbot Suger, who has left an interesting account of it. But it is not impossible that painted glass much earlier than this may be discovered; indeed M. Gérente, an ingenious imitator of ancient painted glass, lately exhibited to me tracings made from some painted glass at Mans Cathedral, in France, which glass seemed to be as early as the latter part of the eleventh century. Theophilus, in the treatise before mentioned, particularly extols the skill of the French glass painters, and France is at this day the grand storehouse of painted glass of the earliest style. The little we possess in England is however not inferior in quality to the French glass. Some of the oldest glass in this country, is part of a Jesse window in Canterbury Cathedral; and part of another Jesse in York Minster, which has been inserted into the

[1] The art of glass *making* is also described in this treatise. The glass was formed into a cylinder, and opened or spread out into a sheet. Sheets so made have straight selvedges. It is not improbable that the glass found in the ruins of Roman villas, and which has a straight selvedge, was made in this manner.

[2] Those by Count De L'Escalopier, by Mr. Hendrie, and in the appendix to the "Hints on Glass Painting."

tracery lights of the Decorated clerestory windows of the nave.[3] All this glass is of the last half of the twelfth century; so that the glass at York, is older than any part of the existing edifice, with the exception of the crypt under the choir. And this is by no means a solitary instance of the original glass having been preserved when an old structure was pulled down and rebuilt in the Middle Ages.

Having thus alluded to the probable antiquity of the art, and noticed a few of the most ancient specimens, I think it will be convenient briefly to describe what may be called Theophilus's System of Glass Painting, and the alterations that were afterwards ingrafted upon it; since by so doing I shall give a general notion of the process of glass painting, and show the chief sources of the varieties of style that are afterwards specified.

As I shall have occasion to mention several different kinds of glass used in glass painting, for the sake of perspicuity and brevity I will state, that by White glass, I mean, glass which in the course of its manufacture has not intentionally been coloured; that by Coloured glass, I mean, glass to which some colour has purposely been given in its manufacture; that by Pot Metal glass, I mean, a particular kind of coloured glass, viz., glass coloured throughout its entire substance; and that by Coated glass (which is sometimes, though inaccurately, called Flashed glass), I mean another kind of coloured glass, viz., glass coloured on one side only of the sheet. The glass painter, it should be added, does not *make* the glass he paints; though, at an early period, it would seem that he did so.

The glass painter having made his design, which in the earliest period was drawn with lead, tin, or chalk, on a board or table prepared for the purpose,—transferred it to the glass in the following manner. He cut from the sheet pieces of white and coloured glass, corresponding in size and shape to those parts of the design which he intended to be white and coloured respectively, and fitted them accurately together, so as to form a piece of coarse mosaic work; each colour of

[3] See Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, at York; Paper on the Painted Glass, p. 18.

the design being represented by a separate piece of glass. He then proceeded to paint the outlines and shadows of the design upon these pieces of glass, using for the purpose an Enamel Colour, similar to that now known amongst glass painters by the name of "Enamel Brown;" and which, like any other enamel colour, is composed of two ingredients,—Flux, that is, soft glass which melts readily in the fire, and some kind of Colouring Matter indestructible by heat. The next step was to subject the glass to the action of Red heat, in a kiln or furnace, in order to make the Enamel Brown attach itself to the glass by the melting of the flux; and the process was completed by connecting together the various pieces of painted glass with Lead-work, and setting up the glass painting in the window. A more simple method of producing a pictorial effect can hardly be imagined. The picture was coloured by using white and coloured glass; its outlines, shadows, and diaper patterns alone were painted by the artist. In the early part of the fourteenth century, the glass painters discovered a means of Staining white glass yellow; and of imparting a yellow tint to most kinds of coloured glass. The principal ingredient of the Yellow Stain is oxide, or chloride of silver; it imparts its tint to the glass,—penetrating it a little way,—on being exposed to the action of a red heat. A new mode of executing the shadows and diaper grounds with the Enamel Brown was adopted just before the close of the fourteenth century. Previously to this time, a coat of Enamel Brown was *smeared* over those parts only of the glass that were intended to be in shadow, the lights being left clear and untouched; but according to the new method, the Enamel Brown was spread all over the glass, and *stippled*[4] whilst moist, to obliterate the marks of the brush, and give smoothness to the coat; and the parts intended to represent the lights of the picture were afterwards restored to their original transparency by the removal of the enamel ground from off them. The first and oldest

[4] The stippling process was not a novelty: it was occasionally used, even as early as the reign of Edward the Second, to soften the effect of the smear shading. Shading, so executed, may be conveniently called, "smear shading stippled," to distinguish it, both from the ordinary "smear shading," and "stipple shading."

kind of shading may be called Smear shading, and the second Stipple shading; the distinction being important to the antiquary and artist. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century a method was discovered of exhibiting to view patches of white glass in the midst of a coloured surface, by the destruction of corresponding portions of the coloured stratum of coated glass, an invention which facilitated the representation, in their proper colours, of heraldic bearings and other minute subjects; but this being tedious and expensive in practice was not extensively resorted to. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the introduction of another Enamel colour, rather redder in hue than the Enamel Brown, may be noticed. It was chiefly used to heighten the complexions, and to warm the flesh tint. No other innovations, however, on the System of Theophilus, which may with propriety be called the Mosaic System of Glass Painting, were made until the middle of the sixteenth century. The most gorgeous glass paintings in existence, all which were executed during the first half of the sixteenth century, owe their plenitude of effect simply to the fuller development of the Mosaic System.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, however, or in France and Flanders a few years earlier, it was discovered that all other colours besides yellow, brown, and light red, could be given to white glass by means of Enamel Colours and the Stain; and thus the artist became in a measure independent of the glass-maker for colouring glass. But the introduction of the Enamel System of Glass Painting, as this may be called, did not immediately lead to the disuse of coloured glass; the enamels being at first employed either to colour those parts of the design which, from the difficulty of leading in pieces of coloured glass, must otherwise have remained uncoloured, or improperly coloured; or to heighten the tint of the coloured glass. The joint operation, however, of colouring glass by means of enamels, and the disuse of glass paintings on an extended scale, led, at last, to the abandonment of the manufacture of coloured glass in France, and to its great deterioration in this Kingdom and elsewhere. Le Vieil informs us, that in 1768 no coloured glass was made

in France.[5] In England the Pot-metals continued to be made, but the manufacture of Coated glass appears to have ceased towards the latter part of the seventeenth century. I have not met with any example of Ruby glass, *i. e.* Coated Red glass, later than that in the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, which was executed by Peckitt in 1762. It is of very inferior quality, but not worse than what was made some sixty years before. The manufacture of Ruby,[6] as well as of other kinds of Coated glass, was revived in France about twenty years ago; but its having lain dormant for a period, together with the deteriorated quality of Pot-metal glass, have given rise to a belief that the art of glass-painting, as formerly practised, has been lost. This belief is fast wearing out, but its effect is still felt in the propensity to be satisfied with a glass painting, whatever may be its demerits as a work of art, provided it exhibits bright and striking colours.

[5] "L'Art de la Peinture sur Verre et de la Vitrerie, par feu Le Vieil," p. 84.

[6] A careful microscopical examination of several specimens of modern and ancient "ruby glass," has convinced me that the old was manufactured in the same manner as the new.

The red colour is clearly ascertained to be producible by copper, in a high state of oxidation. [See Clarke's translation of Otto Fromberg's "Handbuch der Glasmalerei," in Weale's Quarterly Papers; and Lardner's "Porcelain and Glass Manufacture," p. 276.] The ingredients for making ruby glass are mentioned amongst the receipts for colouring glass, given in Neri, "De arte vitrariâ," in the French work of Blancourt, and also in the "Mappa Clavicula," a MS. of the 10th century, printed in the 23rd vol. of the Archæologia, p. 183, et seq. See the chapters cclvii., cclviii., entitled, "Confectio vitri rubri." None of these authors, however, describes the mode of forming the glass into sheets. The chapter in the treatise of Theophilus, which, from its heading, "De vitro quod vocatur Gallien," we may suppose bore on the subject, is lost, [See "Hints on Glass Painting," p. 311.] There can be no doubt, however, that ruby glass was anciently formed into sheets, as it is now, by blowing a lump of white glass covered with a coat of ruby, into a hollow sphere, which was afterwards converted into a flat sheet, in the usual way. A specimen of ruby glass, of the 13th century, exhibiting the mark of a "punt," or "bull's eye," is described in the "Hints on Glass Painting," p. 341. This, in connection with other circumstances, is decisive as to the mode of manufacture. I have met with a similar instance, but not older than the 15th or 16th century, in one of the windows of the tower called "Cook's Folly," near Clifton: and no doubt many others exist. Peckitt's ruby was, I am sure, manufactured exactly as above described; the failure of the red and the green tint imparted to the glass in places, are defects not unfrequently exhibited by more ancient specimens, and may easily be accounted for.

A new kind of ruby glass, which, for convenience sake, may be called "enamelled ruby," has lately been manufactured by Mr. Hartley. The colouring matter is spread, with a brush, over the surface of a sheet of yellow or white glass, to which it becomes united, like a transparent enamel, on exposure to a sufficient heat in a kiln. A similar process is described, as applicable to other colours, in, "L'art de la peinture sur verre et de vitrerie, par feu le Vieil," part 2, ch. 3. It is clear that the ancient ruby was not manufactured in this manner.

The very changes which have taken place in the practice of the art, thus afford, of themselves, a means of ascertaining the age of any particular glass painting; but in consequence of the length of time during which each mode was practised, they do not present any precise evidence of date, nor do they furnish the means of a classification sufficiently discriminating in other respects. We are, therefore, obliged to look amongst minute details for the distinguishing characteristics of the successive periods of glass painting, and to found upon them, in conjunction with the changes above-mentioned, the division of the art into those several styles which, together with a brief notice of some of their peculiarities, I shall presently enumerate.

Theophilus's, or the Mosaic System of Glass Painting, continued to be followed, as already stated, until about the middle of the sixteenth century, and thus comprehends all the medieval varieties; and those varieties may be conveniently divided into styles, like the varieties of medieval architecture, and in like manner may be classed under the head of the Early English style, the Decorated style, &c.

The Early English style includes all glass paintings executed prior to 1280. Some works of this period I have already mentioned, when speaking of the antiquity of glass painting. The great Rose or Wheel window of the transept of the Cathedral of this city also belongs to it. The description which I shall presently give of this window will afford an opportunity of indicating some of the characteristic features of the style, and it will also serve to illustrate the arrangement which is usual in similar works of this age. I therefore abstain from entering at all into these particulars at present.

The Decorated style prevailed from 1280 to 1380. There are numerous and excellent specimens of this style in England, though hardly any remains belonging to it are found in Lincoln Cathedral. As early examples, I may mention the painted glass in the choir of Merton College Chapel, Oxford; in the Chapter House at York; in the chancel of Norbury Church, Derbyshire, &c. And as later examples, the glass in the choir of Bristol Cathedral; in the nave of York

Cathedral; in Stanford Church, Northamptonshire; in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral, &c. The earlier examples of this style are distinguished from the Early English, principally by the architectural details of the canopy work (a common accompaniment to Decorated Picture glass paintings), and the flowing tendril scrollages, and naturally-formed leaves in the ornamental patterns. The later examples, in addition to these peculiarities, generally exhibit the Yellow Stain, and are also less intense in colour compared with Early English glass paintings. In all Decorated painted glass, the outline is usually less strong, and the drawing less vigorous than the Early English.

The Perpendicular style prevailed from 1380 to 1530. In the choir of York Minster is an excellent series of examples, extending from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to about the middle of the fifteenth. There are also some good early remains in the Antechapel of New College, Oxford; and later ones at Malvern Church, Worcestershire; and especially at Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, the painted windows of which edifice are of the early part of the sixteenth century. I may also mention another well known example, rather earlier than the glass at Fairford,—the windows of the North Aisle of Cologne Cathedral. The grand characteristics which distinguish Perpendicular glass paintings from Early English and Decorated, are greater breadths of unbroken colour, tints of diminished intensity, and the introduction of a greater proportion of white glass even in the most richly-coloured Pictures. The later examples, as at Fairford, are often highly picturesque in treatment and design. The foliaged ornaments, the devices on the quarries, of which the ornamented Patterns in this style are formed, are highly conventional and unnatural in form; and the style of execution is very delicate and finished. The Stipple Shading is also an important feature in glass paintings of this style, and will often enable the student to determine whether a particular example is Perpendicular or Decorated.

The style which succeeded the Perpendicular, after having been for nearly thirty years concurrent with it, I have called

the Cinque Cento. It prevailed from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the general introduction of Enamel Colours, about the middle of that century. The character of the ornamental details—whence the name of the style—is of itself sufficient to distinguish Cinque Cento from Perpendicular glass paintings, in which the Gothic details are followed. In other respects it would not be easy to draw the line between the later examples of the one style and the earlier examples of the other; the same mode of execution being used in each. The finest specimens of Cinque Cento glass paintings are amongst the works of the Flemish school; these possess a power and a richness in comparison with which the French and English examples appear weak and timid. There are some splendid specimens of the style at Lichfield Cathedral, brought from the neighbourhood of Liège, in the early part of the present century. The east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, which has all the appearance of being Flemish, is another splendid work; but perhaps no windows so fully impress the spectator with the power of painted glass, as those of the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament, on the North side of Brussels Cathedral.

It seems unnecessary to enter into any lengthened remarks on the styles of glass painting which have prevailed from the Cinque Cento period until within the last twenty years; for with the exception of the East window of the choir of Lincoln, there is no example here to which such remarks can apply; and this, being a kaleidoscope of plain pieces of glass, need not be further noticed. Such glass paintings are in general easily to be distinguished from the Cinque Cento, by the Enamel Colouring which is used in them; as well as by their dullness and opacity in several instances, and by their washiness and flimsiness in others. The last defect is most apparent in those specimens in which the use of white glass coloured with enamels, instead of coloured glass, has prevailed to the greatest extent. The best English examples of the combined use of Enamel Colouring and Coloured glass, are the works of the Van Linges, in the first half of the seventeenth century, and those of the Prices in the early part of

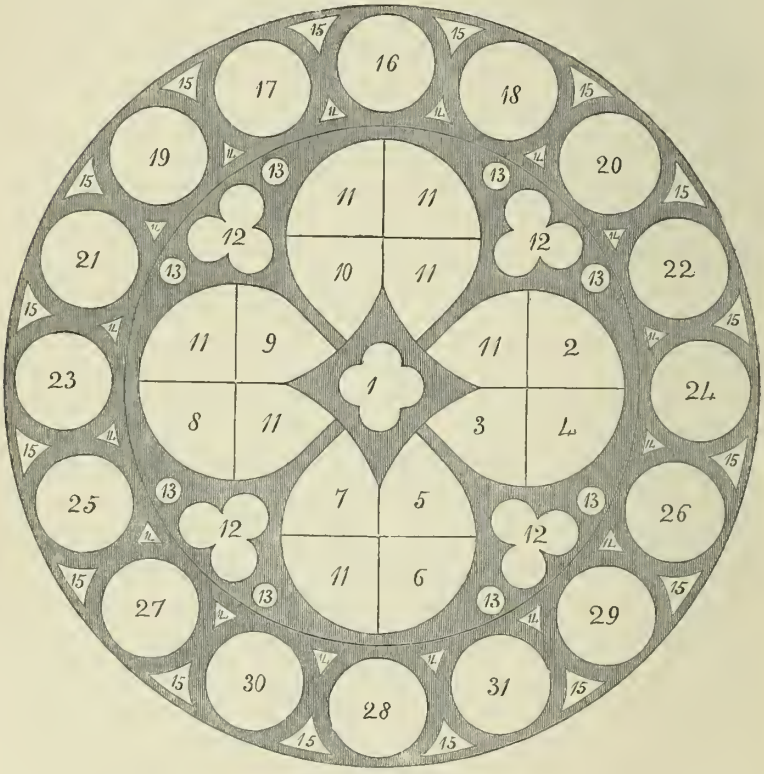
the eighteenth. It cannot be denied that a very powerful pictorial effect is produced by many of these works; yet even in the most favourable examples we seek in vain for that sparkling brilliancy and translucency which characterise the equally powerful glass paintings of the Cinque Cento period, and indeed constitute the chief beauty of a glass painting. The poverty of glass paintings, in which the colouring is wholly produced by enamels, is well exemplified in the "washy virtues" at New College Chapel, Oxford, and in the windows of Arundel Castle, Sussex.

The preceding outline, however imperfect, of the progress of glass painting, and of the styles under which the ancient varieties are classed, will enable us to enter upon an examination of the windows of this Cathedral, and of Southwell Minster; and in the course of it I shall occasionally introduce a few remarks which may serve to illustrate what has before been said.

The glass of the Early English style remaining in the Cathedral, is, I think, of the first half of the thirteenth century. The great Rose or Wheel window in the North transept, must be admitted to be one of the most splendid, and in its present state, one of the most perfect works, of the thirteenth century. The subject of the window is, The Church on Earth and the Church in Heaven. The central part of the window is occupied with a representation of the Blessed in Heaven, with Christ sitting in the midst. The sixteen circles which form the outer part of the window, set forth the mysterious scheme of Man's Redemption, and the efficacy of Holy Church. In the topmost circle is represented our Saviour seated on a Rainbow, and displaying the Five Wounds. The two next circles on each side the window, contain angels supporting the Cross, and other Instruments of the Passion. In the next circle on each side, are Holy Persons in the act of being conducted to Heaven by St. Peter and other Saints. The two next circles on each side are, or have been, occupied with a representation of the General Resurrection; and each of the lowest five circles is filled either with the figure of an Archbishop, or of a Bishop in Mass vestments. This description will be rendered more intelligible by a reference

to the diagram given in the note.[7] It is much to be regretted that no engraving exists of this window ; the want of accurate

[7] 1. A representation of our Saviour, or God the Father, seated. The picture is in a very mutilated state.
2. Represents three unnimbed figures, sitting, in attitudes of adoration, and looking towards No. 1. The first figure of the group, counting from the centre of the window, wears a mitre.



3. A similar subject. The group consists of a nimbed female figure, and two unnimbed male figures.
4. A similar subject. The first figure of the group is a bishop, the other two are males. None is nimbed.
5. A similar subject, but very much mutilated. Only one, unnimbed, figure remains.
6. A similar subject. The two first figures of the group are males, nimbed ; the third is a female, not nimbed.
7. A similar subject, consisting of three unnimbed figures ; the last of the group has the head of a monk, but this may be an insertion.
8. A similar subject, but very much mutilated. Only one figure, not nimbed, remains.
9. A similar subject, consisting of a group of three male figures, the two first only are nimbed.
10. A similar subject. The three figures are, I think, those of males, none is nimbed,—one has shoes.
11. Each of these seven compartments is filled with painted glass, evidently

prints of entire windows is, indeed, a serious obstacle to the study of ancient glass.[8] One only of the subjects, the Angels

collected from other windows, but of the same date as that forming the original design.

12. Each of these four compartments contains the figure of an angel, tossing a thurible.
13. Each of these eight compartments contains, or did contain, a small four-leaved ornament, in a circle.
14. Each of these sixteen compartments contains, or did contain, a white star, of five points, on a blue ground.
15. Each of these sixteen compartments contains, or did contain, a red star, of six points, on a blue ground.
16. A representation of Our Saviour, the stigmata are shown, sitting on a rainbow, with a candlestick on each side of the figure. The picture, which is enclosed in a quatrefoil frame or border, is supported by the Evangelistic symbols.
17. Represents two angels supporting a cross, inscribed IHC NAZARENVS. This subject is engraved in Fowler's "Mosaic pavements and painted glass."
18. Two angels carrying the spear.
19. Two angels, one carrying the three nails and the napkin, the other, a thurible.
20. Two angels, one bearing the crown of thorns, the other, a thurible.
21. St. Peter with the keys, preceding two nimbed figures, behind whom is a regal personage, not nimbed, on his knees. Two other nimbed figures bring up the rear.
22. Three nimbed figures, their heads raised in adoration; behind is another figure, not nimbed.
23. Two angels sounding the trumpets.
24. A similar subject.
25. The dead rising from their coffins. The picture is very much mutilated.
26. This picture is an insertion, having evidently been brought from some other window. It represents the expulsion of our first parents from paradise.
27. A bishop, seated, giving the benediction.
28, 29. The same subject repeated.
30. An archbishop, seated, giving the benediction.
31. The same subject repeated.

The above description is, I believe, substantially correct. I examined the window most carefully with a pocket telescope from the clerestory gallery of the transept, but owing to the dirty and mutilated state of the glass, it is not impossible that I may have fallen into some errors. The following extract from Mr. E. J. Willson's letter to me, which accompanied the drawing from which the above cut was made, is interesting, as showing the present state of the window:—"The outside of this window is very neatly ornamented, and is in a much better condition than the inside, but it is inaccessible without scaffolding; and, therefore, the drawing could only be made from the inside, which is in a condition of great rudeness, owing to the repairs which have been made from time to time, in order to keep the glazing from being blown out of the stone frame. I find the stone work *rebated* round the edges of every opening, for the reception of the glass, about two inches each way. As to the condition of the glazing, I look upon it as in a most perilous state of decay. The lead seams, which are only about an eighth of an inch broad, are weakened with rust, and the force of high winds has bent the surfaces of the glazed compartments inward and outward, two or three inches, and more in some parts. The pieces of glass have thus been loosened, and forced out; and every year brings the loss of some integral portions of the pictures."

[8] Such has been the destruction or mutilation of the works of the English School of Glass Painting, that it is difficult to form a series of entire windows, or of considerable portions of windows, sufficiently perfect to satisfy the student. Even in the short list which follows, some imperfect specimens are necessarily included. In the choir of Canterbury Cathedral are many good specimens of Early English Medallion windows, and considerable remains of Figure and Canopy, and Jesse windows. Lincoln Cathedral has the splendid north Rose above described. Salisbury Cathedral contains some excellent Early English white Pattern windows. Later examples of the same kind are afforded by the Five Sisters at York; and the east window of Chetwode Church, Berks; in the last,

supporting the Cross, has been engraved, but not accurately, in Fowler's "Mosaic Pavements and Painted Glass." No other portion of the Early English glass is in its original position. It is clear that the white Patterns which fill the five windows immediately below the North Rose, have been

the effect of introducing Pictures into a white Pattern, may be seen. The five-light east window of Selling Church, Kent, is a Decorated white Pattern, with Pictures inserted, of the latter part of the reign of Edward the First. The east window of Checkley Church, Staffordshire, bears a considerable resemblance to the last. The side windows of Merton Chapel, Oxford, are white Pattern windows, with Pictures inserted, of the latter part of Edward the First's reign; and the head of the east window is a rich specimen of decorative colouring. The windows of the Chapter House at York are early in the reign of Edward the Second. They consist of white patterns with Pictures inserted. The side windows of the chancel of Norbury Church, Derbyshire, are of the same date and general design as the last, but contain shields of arms instead of Pictures. The head of the east window of Froyle Church, Hants, is an excellent specimen of heraldic decoration, of the latter part of the reign of Edward the Second. Of the same date are the Figure and Canopy windows in the choir of Tewkesbury Church, and in the clerestory of the choir of Wells Cathedral; as well as the Jesse east window of the same cathedral. This window, though more perfect, is inferior in design to the Jesse east window of Bristol Cathedral, the date of which is about 1330. The west window of York Nave is a Figure and Canopy window, early in the reign of Edward the Third; and amongst the side windows, which consist chiefly of white Patterns with Pictures inserted, may be enumerated a Jesse, and some Figure and Canopy windows, all being of the early part of the same reign. St. Denis Church, York, has a Figure and Canopy window late in the reign of Edward the Third; of which date is the magnificent east window of Gloucester Cathedral. It consists chiefly of Figures and Canopies, and partly of White Patterns. The east window of Levrington Church, Cambridgeshire, is a very early Perpendicular Jesse. The Antechapel of New College, Oxford, contains several Figure and Canopy windows of the reign of Richard the Second. There are some equally early examples in the clerestory of York choir. Indeed, the Choir of this Cathedral is a perfect mine of Perpendicular glass, varying in date from this time to the reign of Henry the Sixth; and comprising in its aisles a Jesse window, as well as windows whose design, like the east window, consists of a number of small Pictures placed one over the other. St. Martin's Church, York, has a west window full of small Pictures, and clerestory windows with Figures and Arms, on quarry grounds, of the time of Henry the Sixth. The Hall windows of Ockwell's House, Berks, are filled with heraldic achievements of the middle of the fifteenth century, consisting of shields, mantlings, &c., of the boldest and most striking design. Good Pattern windows of the latter part of this century may be seen in the Hall of the Bede House, Lyddington, Rutlandshire; and in the Dean's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, contains a number of Picture windows, of various designs, of the early part of the sixteenth century, which deserve the greatest attention. King's Chapel, Cambridge, is full of early Cinque Cento Picture windows. The East window of Bowness Church, Westmoreland, also belongs to this style; as well as the beautiful Jesse at Llanrhaidr Church, Denbighshire; and the East window of St. Margaret's, Westminster. The East window of Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, is a favourable specimen of the style which succeeded the Cinque Cento. Of the works of Van Linges, there are abundance at Oxford, particularly in the Cathedral; and in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. The East window of St. Andrew's, Holborn, which was painted by Price, is deserving of notice. This list might be greatly increased by adding more mutilated, though hardly less valuable, specimens to it.

removed from other windows ; and the same remark applies to the contents of both the lowest North windows of the transept. In the westernmost of these two windows near the bottom, the figures of five angels, playing on musical instruments, have been inserted. These are late Decorated, of excellent character, and belong in all probability to the West window of the nave. Most of the glass in the Southern Rose is Early English, collected from other windows : a collection of various pieces of Early English glass, chiefly pictures, likewise fills the other four South windows of the transept. The lower lights of the East windows of the North and South Choir Aisles, are also filled with a similar collection of Early English glass paintings ; amongst which are some Medallions representing, according to the opinion of Mr. E. J. Willson, of Lincoln, incidents in the Life of St. Hugh, of Lincoln. St. Hugh died Bishop of Lincoln in 1200, and was canonised by Pope Honorius the Third in 1220. I am informed by Mr. Willson, that this glass was removed about sixty years ago from the windows of the aisles of the nave to its present resting-place ; and that a chantry in a chapel adjoining the nave, having an altar dedicated to St. Hugh, was founded by Bishop Hugh de Welles, who died in 1235. The glass exhibits internal evidence of being of corresponding date. It is easy to recognise in these remains, those striking features which indicate the Early English style of glass painting ; such as the extraordinary intensity and vividness of the colours, the strength and boldness of the outline, the tallness of the figures, their vigorous and spirited attitudes, and classical air of their heads ; also the conventional character of the foliaged ornaments, as displayed in the borders and white patterns, and which resemble the ornaments of the contemporary sculpture. The North Rose, which has been already described, also exhibits the general principles of composition common to any Early English window that contains a number of Pictures. Each Picture, the design of which is always very simple, is placed in a panel having a stiff-coloured ground, and well-defined border. The panels are also embedded in a stiff-coloured ground. Very little white glass is used, so that the window consists

of a mass of rich and variegated colouring, of which the predominant tints are those of the grounds. The design, owing to the smallness of its parts, is confused when seen from the floor of the transept. The various panels which have been inserted into the other windows, no doubt once formed integral parts of Medallion Windows. The North Rose shows the general effect of a Medallion Window; and some idea of its design is conveyed by the modern imitation window in the south aisle of the cathedral. The original iron-work of a Medallion Window still remains in the first window from the west in the South aisle of the Nave, and may be regarded as indicating what were the principal divisions of the design of the glass painting.

There are a few fragments of Decorated glass of the time of Edward the Second, in the tracery lights of the first window from the east of the South aisle of the Choir, and a little more, somewhat earlier, in one or two of the windows of the opposite aisle. The East window of the Choir has been deprived of its original glazing. It appears from a note taken of it a few years previous to the Rebellion, and brought to my notice by the Venerable the Archdeacon, that it contained the arms of many of the English nobility; from which circumstance it may be inferred, that the original glass was early Decorated, or at all events of transitional character; Heraldry not being found in the more ancient examples of Early English glass. A portion of a late Early English white Pattern is inserted in the east window of the Chapter House at Southwell. It has been engraved in "Shaw's Ornaments."

The glass which fills the upper tracery lights of the West window of the Nave of Lincoln is late Decorated, a little later, perhaps, than the middle of the fourteenth century. The five angels already mentioned as being in one of the lower windows of the north transept, are of the same date as this: they most probably formed part of the West window. This window, judging from the forms of the foliaged scroll-work remaining in its tracery lights and round the angels, seems to have been a Jesse window. The Smear Shading in the angels and foliaged ornaments deserves attention. I should here notice a small piece of the foliaged scroll-work

belongs to this window, which has been inserted in the Decorated South Rose window, near the bottom of its eastern side; because this glass, when compared with the surrounding Early English glass, betrays, by the lightness of its effect, the great difference in texture that certainly exists between Decorated and Early English glass.[9]

At Southwell Minster, in the Chapter House, are some few remnants of early Decorated glass of the reign of Edward the First. They consist chiefly of portions of tracery lights, and of the spires and crockets of canopies belonging to the lower lights. These crockets are identical in form to those carved in stone round the Chapter House. In one of the tracery lights of the second window from the east, on the south, is a small medallion of white glass; on which is represented a Knight on horseback, tilting, with a long spear under his arm. He is habited in a long surcoat which reaches below the knees, and is armed in a hauberk, and chausses of mail. His helmet is surmounted with a crest, resembling the wing of a bird. In one of the opposite windows are remains of heraldic borders, consisting of the yellow castles of Castile, and of a white lion rampant on a red field.

The Perpendicular remains of glass in Lincoln Cathedral are but trifling. Three small circles emblematic of the months of March, April, and July, are inserted in the midst of the principal tracery lights of the East windows of the South and North Aisles of the Choir. A head in this style has also been supplied to the lowest of the five Decorated angels already mentioned as being in one of the north windows of the transept; in this head, as well as in the other Perpendicular work, Stipple Shading is used. An heraldic border, composed of small parallelograms of white glass, each bearing a black chevron, between three black crosses botonné, and a black border with yellow pellets; remains in the central lower light of the third window from the east of the north choir aisle. I suspect that these parallelograms were

[9] I am thus minute in noticing specimens calculated to show, in a striking manner, the difference in texture between glass of different dates, because, of all differences, this is the least appreciable by casual observers, though all who have studied ancient painted glass will agree, that it is one of the most important.

originally separated from each other by small pieces of plain coloured glass. They are, I think, of the middle of the fifteenth century.

At Southwell, the remains of Perpendicular glass are equally scanty; being confined to a few late shields of arms, and other fragments, in the West window of the Nave. The four lower East windows of the Choir of this building are filled with Cinque Cento glass paintings, of the French school; the gift of the late Mr. Gally Knight, in 1818, and which represent the Baptism of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, and the Mocking of Christ by the Jews. The first subject considered as a glass painting is rather poor, being weak both in colour and shadow. The whole of this picture below the knees of our Saviour, is a modern addition, by the late Mr. Miller, who adapted the glass to the present lights. The three other subjects are effective and good; particularly the second, in which, by a skilful management of the background, a striking effect of distance, and aerial perspective is produced. The third, as a composition of colour, is perhaps the best. These windows, though less powerful, are more brilliant than Flemish glass paintings of the same period. As Pictures they go far to establish the claim of Glass Painting to be considered one of the Fine Arts.

If glass painting could be considered merely as an object of antiquarian curiosity, I should here terminate my remarks on the subject; but as it is a practical art, and as the principal motive for investigating its past condition and history is a desire to advance and improve its present cultivation, I trust that few of those who interest themselves in the study will think that I am abusing the present occasion, if I proceed to offer some observations on the best mode of developing its resources, and carrying it onwards to perfection.

It will not be denied, I think, that the glass paintings which have been executed for churches within the last twenty years, with few exceptions, leave very great room for improvement. To include all these works under one common condemnation would no doubt be unjust, yet it must be admitted that

hardly any, even of those most recently executed, can be considered satisfactory, or worthy the cost that has been expended on them, except perhaps so far as they may have been the means of bringing the Mosaic System of Glass Painting[1] again into favour. They are for the most part, servile, but faulty imitations of older examples; and, like copies in general, magnify the defects of their originals without seizing upon their excellencies.

These evils are in great measure attributable to a habit amongst the patrons of glass painting, of being satisfied with any work that in their opinion possesses a chance of being mistaken for an original example. Hence exactness of imitation is all that is aimed at, and glass painters are led to value ancient glass paintings only so far as they supply a means of making copies; instead of endeavouring to penetrate into their principles, and found upon them a new and consistent style of glass painting—an object for which the ancient examples are deserving of the closest study.

The ground on which an exact imitation of Gothic glass paintings is generally, and most plausibly maintained, is an opinion that they harmonise with Gothic architecture, and that no others are capable of doing so. It is important therefore, as well for those who advocate the system of servile imitation, as for those who would free artists from the fetters which this system imposes, to inquire in what respects, and how far, Gothic glass paintings do harmonise with Gothic architecture; whether we have the means of obtaining by mere imitation of them, that degree of harmony which they may be found to possess, and whether the desired harmony is best to be obtained by a more independent process.

When it is said that glass paintings ought to harmonise with the architecture with which they are united, the meaning is that they should assist and heighten the effect of the architecture, and present no features at variance with it. To produce this result, agreeably to the ordinary rules which govern other kinds of decoration,—for a glass painting, as

[1] The superiority of the Mosaic System over all others, is attempted to be shown in the "Hints on Glass Painting," part ii. section 2.

well as a fresco painting, is undoubtedly a species of decoration, —a certain degree of congruity is necessary between the glass painting, and the architecture and sculpture, in their general character and composition. A glass painting intended for a church, should possess a graver character than one intended for a secular building, and the ornaments, figures, and draperies represented in a Picture glass painting should resemble those in the sculpture, in style, and general excellence. Moreover, if the interior of the building, or even the particular situation of the window, be dark and obscure, the glass painting ought to exhibit a predominance of deep hues; if light, a lighter cast of colour in the work might be preferable. If the character of the architecture be cheerful, the tone of the glass painting should be warm; if sombre and melancholy, the tone of the glass painting should be cold. Thus, buildings having dark interiors, as Westminster Abbey, or St. Paul's Cathedral, would require more powerfully coloured glass paintings than the Choir of Southwell Minster, or the Church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand; but as the character of Gothic architecture is sombre and melancholy compared with that of the Greek and Italian, glass paintings designed for Westminster Abbey, or Southwell Minster, should be colder in tone than those designed for St. Paul's, or St. Clement Danes. In like manner, windows situated in the Dome of St. Paul's, or the Transept of Lincoln Cathedral, might require to be more deeply coloured, than the windows in the Choir of St. Paul's, or in the Choir of Lincoln; yet the tone of colouring that would harmonise with any part of Lincoln Cathedral would be colder and more grave than that which would suit any part of St. Paul's.

Tested by these rules, Gothic glass paintings will be found, in some respects, to harmonise with the Gothic edifices that were contemporaneous with them. They harmonise with the sculpture in the form of their foliaged ornaments, heraldry, &c.; and (except perhaps in the latest examples) with the grave and sombre character of the architecture, in the simplicity and cold tone of their colouring. All glass paintings earlier than the last quarter of the fifteenth century

are more or less cold in colour: and it is a circumstance worthy of remark, though it seems to result from accident, rather than design, that in proportion as Gothic architecture became less gloomy and sombre, Gothic glass paintings, generally speaking, became not only lighter in hue, but less cold in tone. Thus we find that the glass paintings which were contemporary with the Early English and early Decorated styles of architecture, (which have a more sombre air than any of the succeeding Gothic styles of architecture) are in general the coldest in tone. This arises from the green hue of the white glass, and the peculiar tints of the other colours, (which may perhaps be affected in some degree by the hue of the white glass that forms their basis,) as the crimson tinted Ruby, the cold though rich Pot-metal yellow, and the green hue which corrects the violet in the blue glass. The yellow stain, though it enriched the effect of the early Decorated glass paintings, can hardly be said to have diminished their coldness of tone, for it always partook of the hue of the white glass. It was not until nearly the end of the fifteenth century, at which time the sombreness of Gothic architecture had greatly diminished, if not entirely disappeared, that we perceive in painted glass anything approaching *warmth* of tone. Indeed, even as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, examples are to be seen hardly less cold than Early English glass paintings. Again, though it would be difficult to prove that in proportion as Gothic interiors became less dark and obscure, a preference was given to windows wholly or principally composed of white Patterns, it cannot be denied that as Gothic interiors became, by reason of the increased size and number of their windows, more light, the Picture glass paintings themselves not only contained a less quantity of coloured and a greater proportion of white and yellow stained glass, but, eventually, their colours individually became less intense in hue. The glass used in all Early English glass paintings, whether white or coloured, is, owing to its peculiar texture, remarkable for intensity of hue. Even a white Pattern window of the Early English style, has a solidity of effect, arising from the strong rich green tint and porcelain-like

nature of its material, that would seem but ill calculated to accord with a lighter style of architecture than the Early English. Nothing could harmonise better with the character of the North Transept of York, than the "Five Sisters." But the deepest colouring known in painted glass occurs in Early English Picture windows: especially in the earlier examples. In these windows but little white glass is used, and this generally is of a strong green tint; deep blues and reds predominate, and the lighter shades of colour, as pink, purple, and violet, possess a relative degree of strength. The colour of each Picture is, in principle, simple and grave. The flesh colour is deep, the draperies are stiff patches of white or coloured glass, not designedly varying in depth; and the figure or group is usually backed with a stiff blue, or red ground. Landscapes with a gradually tinted sky never occur. The general appearance of the window is a mass of variegated and brilliant colouring of the deepest hue, and most solemn tone. Decorated Picture windows, however, though they exhibit the same simple and grave principle of colouring, and though, at least in the earlier examples of them, tints often occur individually as intense as those of an Early English window, are, owing to the greater infusion of white glass into their design, considerably lighter in their general appearance than Early English Picture windows. Progressive changes in the manufacture of the glass tended to diminish its intense hue and apparently dense texture, but this so far from checking the employment of white glass in Picture glass paintings, had the reverse effect: as is shown by the Picture glass paintings of the Perpendicular style, in which there is always a much greater proportion of white glass than is seen in Decorated examples. The palest Picture glass paintings are those of the latter half of the fifteenth century, in which, in connection with a light cast of colouring, the principle of employing a large proportion of white glass is carried to the fullest extent.

But the harmony between Gothic Picture glass paintings, and Gothic architecture, does not seem to extend beyond what has been stated. It is clear that these glass paintings, in order perfectly to harmonise with the architecture, ought

to be in all respects, as refined and advanced, in point of art, as the architecture and sculpture are. It can, however, be easily proved, that Gothic Picture glass paintings of every period, are very inferior in design and execution to the buildings, and architectural ornaments, with which they are associated. But it will be sufficient to point out the incongruity, in some respects, of Early English Picture glass paintings, and Early English architecture, since these are the most popular styles of painted glass and Gothic architecture, and between which the greatest degree of harmony is usually supposed to exist.

A favourable specimen of Early English architecture suggests, at least to ordinary observers, no incompleteness either in the character and proportions of the architecture itself, or in the form of its conventional ornaments. Yet any representation of the human figure when attempted in the sculpture, is immediately perceived to be palpably incorrect both in its proportions and details, defects easily accounted for, when we consider the peculiar study which the human form demands, and recollect, that in the thirteenth century,—to use the words of Flaxman,—"the sculptor could not be instructed in anatomy, for there were no anatomists."[2]

On examining an Early English Picture glass painting, we find the human form still less correctly rendered than in the sculpture, which is not surprising, because, at a time when the laws of Perspective were unknown, it was more difficult to draw correctly, than to model. In this respect, therefore, there is a want of harmony between the glass and the architecture. But the inferiority of Early English Picture glass paintings to Early English architecture, is apparent in many other particulars. For instance, that flagrant violation of the rule of composition that regulates the size and complication of ornaments by the distance from which they are intended to be seen, which is so common in Early English Medallion Windows, rarely, if ever, occurs in Early English architecture, or sculpture.[3] Again, the figures and canopies, and alto-

[2] Lectures on Sculpture, p. 15.

[3] The figures of the alto-reliefs representing the General Resurrection, which occupies the upper part of the west front

reliefs that adorn Early English architecture, are remarkable for their boldness, and prominence ; for strongly contrasted lights and shadows, and deep undercuttings ; yet in Early English glass paintings, the Pictures are, on the contrary, remarkable for their excessive flatness. The canopy, for instance, conveys scarcely any other idea than that of a border to the coloured ground in which the figure is imbedded ; and in the Medallion Pictures, the objects in the background are universally represented in the same plane with the group in the foreground. This flatness, being unintentional, as clearly appears from the abortive attempts made to overcome it, can only be regarded as a defect, and a further proof of the incompleteness of Early English Picture glass paintings, in comparison with Early English architecture and sculpture. It is otherwise with Early English Pattern glass paintings ; they are but a species of mere surface decoration, and their flatness is perfectly consistent with the nature of their design.

It could easily be shown that all other Gothic Picture glass paintings disagree with the contemporary architecture in many respects ; but it is unnecessary to pursue the inquiry further to justify the conclusion, that although Gothic Pattern glass plaintings may be considered to harmonise with Gothic architecture, Gothic Picture glass paintings do so but imperfectly. It of course follows that the modern imitations of the latter, even if they were exact, cannot harmonise with the architecture, since the originals do not. But the observations which I shall now proceed to make on the nature of modern glass, will show that these imitations cannot be exact ; and that all imitations of Gothic glass paintings, whether Patterns or Pictures, and more especially those of the earlier styles, will be deficient in that part of harmony which is dependent on the tone and colouring of the work : the imitations of Picture glass paintings thus failing of the desired harmony on two accounts.

of Wells Cathedral, are distinctly visible from below ; yet the same subject, which occupies the lower lights of the East window of the choir, is executed on so small a scale, that it is difficult to make out its component parts from the floor of the Cathedral, even with a pocket telescope. It is true, that the glass is Early Decorated, and the sculpture Early English, yet the comparison may be fairly made.

It has been stated in a former part of this paper, that various changes in the texture of the glass itself took place at various periods in the history of the art, and that the nature of the material, is always, to a certain extent, characteristic of the age of the glass painting. Therefore, in order to make an *exact* copy of any ancient glass painting, we must possess either a material identical to that of which it is composed, or something equivalent to it. Down to the present time, however, the glass manufacturers have not succeeded in reproducing a material identical to that even of the sixteenth century, which is less homogeneous, and, consequently, apparently denser in its texture[4] than modern glass. The modern imitations of the still earlier kinds of glass, are, as might be expected, still less successful. Every expedient that has yet been tried, had produced but a slight approximation to what is required. No material having the porcelain character, richness, and gem-like brilliancy of the glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has yet been made. The modern glass is all too clear and homogeneous in texture, and too uniform in depth or shade of colour. Modern Ruby glass is poor in comparison with the rich streaky Ruby glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the "Rolled" Pot-metal and white glass, being of uniform thickness all over, have none of the richness and vivacity of the ancient Pot-metal and white glass, which having been blown in a rude inartificial manner, are very irregular in thickness, and, consequently, exhibit corresponding varieties, or shades of tint. Thus, it is evident that, until the manufacture of the ancient material is *effectually* revived,—and against this there are obstacles more numerous and formidable than would at first be supposed,[5] modern imitations of ancient painted windows and especially of those belonging to the earlier styles, must necessarily be more or less faulty.

[4] I use the expression, *apparent* density, because, in fact, modern glass is more dense, i.e., specifically heavier, than old glass.

[5] Before the ancient material is reproduced, the manufacturer must have recourse to the ancient mode of preparing the materials, and colours of the glass; and perhaps to a different kind of furnace from that now in use. But such an entire change of system is hardly to be expected, when we recollect how small a quantity of glass, compared with what is annually manufactured, is consumed by the glass painters.

A comparison of the modern imitation of an Early English Medallion Window, lately put up in Lincoln Cathedral, with the genuine Early English glass remaining in the transept and choir windows, will show the fruitlessness of attempting to reproduce an Early English Picture design in modern glass. In order, no doubt, to correct the thinness of the modern material, and to give it as much as possible the apparent substance of the old, the glass in the modern window I am speaking of, has been covered with a coat of Enamel Brown paint : an expedient which, though it perfectly destroys the brilliancy of the glass, fails in its object to impart to the window the requisite depth and solidity. The window is flimsy, as well as dull in appearance ; its colours have none of the gravity and gem-like brilliancy of the old ones ; and owing to the highly homogeneous texture of modern glass, which renders it peculiarly unfit for minute mosaics, the little bits of Red and Blue in this window run together, and form a violet, when seen from a little distance. As, however, it may be objected that this window is by no means a favourable specimen of modern craft, I will refer to another work put up about the same time as the last, in Ely Cathedral, (both windows bear date 1847,) by M. Gérente, the French glass painter before mentioned. In this window also, the design and execution of an Early English Medallion Window have been closely imitated, and with better success. In particular, the window is brilliant, the glass not having been much dulled with the Enamel colour, and the blue used in it very closely resembles the ancient in its hue ; nevertheless, the uniform depth of the coloured glass, and more especially the thin and flimsy appearance of the window, are fatal to its correctness as an imitative work. Affecting to be an Early English Picture window, it wholly wants the essential characteristic of an Early English Picture window,—the grandeur arising from the use of solid, deep, and vivid colouring.[6] At

[6] The most favourable place for viewing this window from, is in the churchyard, through one of the windows of the north transept, whence the colours appear sufficiently deep and strong; the eye being unable to take in more than a small portion of the rays that pass through the glass, owing to the contraction of the pupil, caused by the glare of the outdoor light. From the interior of the Cathedral, however, the colours appear weak and feeble, as stated in the text ; owing

Chester Cathedral, two modern Picture windows have lately been put up; the one is in imitation of Early Decorated, the other of Perpendicular glass, but notwithstanding the great difference of their detail, both windows are immediately perceived to be of the same date, because glass alike in texture has been used in the formation of each.

It is far more easy, however, to point these defects, than to suggest the means by which similar failures may be avoided; and yet it is necessary that attention should be directed to the subject, in order that we may be able to impart to Gothic glass paintings that harmony with Gothic architecture, which is considered an essential requisite in them.

Harmony, as we have seen, is dependent partly on the nature and execution of the design; partly and principally, on the tone of the colouring. On the former of these sources of harmony I shall not make many observations, as it is that which is most within the reach of the modern artist, and in which he may, without much difficulty, succeed, though his ancient predecessor has failed. The succeeding part of this paper will therefore be principally directed to a consideration of the best means of obtaining harmony from the second of these sources.

The chief difficulty lies in devising some method by which, in a Picture glass painting (for the object may be more easily accomplished in a White Pattern), an effect of colour may be produced that will harmonise with the more gloomy Gothic edifices, such as those of the Early English style. "By colouring," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "the first effect of the picture is produced."[7] This remark applies with the utmost force to a glass painting, of which the colouring is so important a feature, that everything else may be considered subordinate to it. We have already seen, that the colouring which best accords with the sombre character of Gothic architecture is of a cold tone, and that tints, the most solid and intense, harmonise best with the darkness

to the dilation of the pupil, which the darkness of the place occasions. Of course it follows, that, if at any time the Cathedral should be rendered darker by the introduction of more painted windows, the colours of M. Gérente's window will appear proportionably lighter.

[7] Discourse, 4.

of an Early English interior. Yet of the glass which the modern glass painter must use, one or two sorts only can be said to approximate to the effect of Early English glass in their cold grave hue and substantial appearance. Most of the modern colours, besides being raw, have a warm,[8] rather than a cold tone. This is particularly the case with the blue glass. Still I am inclined to think that glass paintings might be made to harmonise with Gothic buildings, even with those of the Early English style, in a greater degree than has hitherto been the case, by the exercise of some care and judgment in making the design, arranging its colours and executing the work.

The principle that regulates the colouring of an Early English window, by which all nice and prettily graduated tints are excluded, and distinct uniform and forcible colours only are used, is of itself, by reason of its simplicity, an element of grandeur, which ought to be adopted in a work that aims at solemnity of effect.[9] Therefore, in a modern window designed for an Early English building, it would seem preferable to use stiff-coloured, or white back-grounds for the pictures, than landscape back-grounds ; for the latter could only be adequately represented by using graduated tints, which would not only destroy the simplicity of the colouring, but necessarily involve a diminution of its depth. So the flesh colour of the figures should be deep, and their draperies consist of stiff simple tints. But whilst adopting generally the medieval principle of colouring, it will be found necessary to introduce certain modifications in the use and arrangement of individual colours, and some novelties in the design and execution of the Picture, in order to compensate as much as possible for the thinness and weakness of modern glass, and produce an effect of depth, as well as brilliancy.

The principal innovations that seem desirable, are the adoption of a broader and less mosaic system of colouring,

[8] The warm tone of the colouring of the great south window of the transept of Westminster Abbey is a defect, though, I fear, one that could not by any possibility have been avoided, in a work intended for such a place. The warmth of colour would, however, have been unobjectionable, had the painting been put in a dark building, in the Italian or Palladian style, as St. Paul's Cathedral.

[9] Reynolds' Discourse, 4.

the use of a greater proportion of white glass, and the employment of shadows far more effective and powerful than are usually met with in an early English Picture window.[1] These (and others of hardly less importance might be mentioned, such as the correct drawing of the human figure and scientific treatment of drapery,) may be advocated as improvements on the ancient system;[2] but their adoption, as a means of producing the desired effect, is rendered necessary by the peculiar texture of modern glass. Any one who has paid attention to the subject must have perceived, that modern glass diffuses, or spreads its hue laterally, in a much greater degree than the glass of the thirteenth century; and that the confusion of tint arising from this circumstance increases in proportion to the minuteness and pellucidness of the pieces employed. We have seen the ill effect of attempting to correct this diffusion of colour at the expense of the transparency of the glass: the most obvious expedient is to avoid, as much as possible, the use of such minute mosaics, and to design the window accordingly. The employment of white glass in much greater quantity than is seen in ancient Early English Picture windows is necessary, in order to increase by contrast the apparent depth of the modern coloured glass; which, unlike the glass of the thirteenth century, is not solid enough to withstand the weakening effect on individual tints, caused by placing a number of strong colours in juxta-position, unrelieved with white glass.[3]

[1] Even were it possible to obtain glass exactly like that of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I should still advocate the use of powerful shadows.

[2] The propriety of imitating the defective drawing of the medieval artists, is, I believe, now pretty generally denied by its former advocates. Other notions, such as the necessity of keeping Glass painting purposely in an undeveloped state, "lest it should cease to be the Handmaid of Gothic architecture," will probably be exploded in due course of time, when the subject is better understood.

[3] The window of the South transept, Westminster Abbey, has white glass enough to have given value to the other colours, had not its tint been too much subdued by the enamel brown shading. This, and the want of more powerful shadows, and clear lights, especially in the larger subjects, seem to be the chief technical defects of the window as a glass painting. Yet such is the superiority of this work over its contemporaries, both here and abroad, (and it should be recollected that it is the first English work in which any attempt to carry out a legitimate system of glass painting has been attempted,) that, had Mr. Nixon done nothing else besides, it would have been sufficient to entitle him to the respect of those who desire to see the true revival of a neglected and underrated branch of art. I will venture to say, that this window will be appreciated in proportion as glass painting becomes better understood.

If white glass of a sufficiently green and cold tone is used for this purpose, the grandeur and solemnity of the window is rather increased than diminished by its introduction. In proof, I may refer to the Jesse which occupies the south end of the transept of Stafford Church ; a work scarcely inferior to an original example in depth of effect, though a greater proportion of white glass is used in it than would appear in an ancient Early English Jesse, from which its design is borrowed.[4]

Powerful Stipple Shadows[5] in the figures and draperies will materially check the tendency of modern glass to diffuse its tint without destroying its transparency, and will also serve to increase the depth and richness of the colouring, and the general solidity and grandeur of the design. Such shadows, when combined with brilliant lights, and confined within due limits of superficial extent, as we find them in Cinque Cento glass paintings, can never, however strong, produce a dull effect ; for the brilliancy of the material is shown in the sparkling lights, and is enhanced by the darkness of the shadows. They also promote harmony of effect, and serve to correct the natural spottiness of a Picture glass painting, by preventing too violent transitions from one colour to another. They also materially conduce to the distinctness of the design, by separating the various objects from each other, and cutting them out from the ground of the picture. It is obvious that the mere use of strong contrasts of light and shade, without diminution of the depth of the local colours, cannot detract from the simplicity of the design ; and that strong outlines may be united with strong shadows whenever they may be necessary in order to make the execution of the figures harmonise with that of the mere pattern work. Yet the employment of strong shadows in any Picture glass painting, and particularly in one designed after an Early English model, has been so pertinaciously objected to, that it seems worth while to examine the grounds of the objection. The most plausible ground of defence for the flatness of

[4] The window was painted by Ward and Nixon.

[5] The superiority of stipple to smear shadows, is shown in the "Hints on Glass Painting." pp. 249, 286.

medieval Picture glass paintings is founded on the opinion that, as these works formed part of that system of surface decoration which covered the walls and sculpture with flat patches of burnished gold, and gaudy colours, they ought to be flat in order to harmonise with the flatness of the pictures on the wall: the flatness of the latter being maintained on the ground that it was contrary to the principles of medieval art to practise ocular deception. The proof of this last assertion however lies on those who make it: and when we perceive that a medieval mural Picture, unlike a mural diaper Pattern, is not wholly devoid of shadow, and that linear perspective is not unfrequently attempted in it, the inference is that the flatness of the Picture has its origin rather in an imperfect and undeveloped state of the art of representation, than in any deliberate intention: an inference which is strengthened by the fact, that this flatness often appears to vary in degree with the skill of the artist as shown in his treatment of the subject in other respects. Assuming however the correctness of the opinion above alluded to, it affords an additional reason for discarding flatness from modern Picture glass paintings. For the medieval system of surface decoration no longer existing, a detached part of it (like the unconnected portions of any other whole when deprived of their proper accompaniments), can hardly be expected to please. Flat Picture glass paintings disjoined from the surface decorations of which they are supposed to have formed a part, would stand alone without anything to countenance and harmonise with them. Even if this were not the case, it would be unreasonable to execute modern Picture glass paintings, which must depend on their own unsupported merits, as if they were to form parts of a whole which has no existence. Flat Picture glass paintings according to the opinion above noticed, will be out of place except in buildings where the walls are stiffly illuminated after the medieval fashion. Therefore, if we wish to introduce them, we must, in order to be consistent, also illuminate the walls. But modern taste will probably always prevent this practice, which, though it might have harmonised with the gaudy and glittering costumes of our medieval ancestors,

would present too glaring and violent a contrast to the more sober and more elegant colours now in use.

Another objection which has been urged against the use of strong shadows in a Picture glass painting, from a fear that they might diminish the brilliancy of the work, has already been answered ; a third objection, to apparent roundness being given to objects in a Picture glass painting, because calculated to convey an idea of their substantiality, contrary to our perception of the fact that the light actually does pass through them, seems unworthy of serious notice ; for it strikes at the root of all imitation whatever. On the other hand it is difficult to reconcile the flatness of medieval Picture glass paintings with the relief of the contemporary sculpture ; or perhaps with any sound principle of taste. Indeed, if it be proper that the conditions of glass painting should be reduced below the conditions of sculpture, and that its Pictorial productions should continue to be like the medieval examples, little else than flat mosaics, it would always be better to choose for the subject of a glass painting a mere Pattern, rather than a Picture ; because a more exact balance and arrangement of colour can be preserved in a mosaic consisting of a stiff formal Pattern, than in one composed as a Picture, of figures and draperies.

It will be observed that the foregoing suggestions and recommendations, however inconsistent with the practice of making servile copies of ancient Picture glass paintings, are in no wise opposed to the use of designs founded on their principle. The idea suggested by an Early English Medallion Window might be well carried out, by treating the medallions strictly as Pictures, having stiff coloured, or white grounds. No attempt should be made, as in the original, to represent a landscape background to the Picture, either by merely introducing conventional objects, according to the practice of the medieval artists ; or, by means of aerial perspective, in conformity with the truer principles of modern art : for the first course would involve an absurdity unworthy of perpetuation, and the light tinted effect produced by the latter would be opposed to the stiff and solemn colouring of the rest of the window. Each medallion should contain simply

a group of figures, relieved with bold shadows, and contrasted in colour to the ground of the panel. The character and arrangement of the figures and draperies might be borrowed, not copied, from the sculpture of the thirteenth century, which abounds in noble and graceful draped forms, that, without any loss of simplicity, might be perfected by the refinement of modern art. And the importance of the Pictures should be fully maintained by making the surrounding ornamental details subordinate to them in all respects. The Early English Figure and Canopy Window, and especially the Jesse window, might with similar modifications be made to harmonise with the architecture more completely than the ancient examples. If the former type should be followed, the canopy, which is as much an integral part of the picture as the figure, should be represented as an object covering the figure, and as a niche into which the figure casts a shade. A small amount of shadow might suffice, but enough should be used to insulate the figure as completely as this is done in the sculpture. No Early English designs are, however, more worthy of study, certainly none are so well suited to the nature of modern glass as white Pattern windows. The cold tone and substantial appearance of these windows have been well imitated in "Powell's Pressed Glass," in the transept windows of the new church at Hackney,[6] and more especially in the east window of the south aisle of Stafford Church, the work of Ward and Nixon. Pictures (if inserted into these windows) would have a rich effect, owing to the contrast which the white of the pattern would present to their colouring.

In like manner many of the ancient Decorated designs might suggest useful hints to the modern glass painter. The white Pattern windows could be imitated in the modern material as successfully as the Early English white Patterns. The usual design of the ancient Figure and Canopy window, would, however, if adopted, require considerable modification to render it satisfactory, owing to the great disproportion which the architectural accessories bear to the figure, by

[6] The *design* of these windows is not alluded to.

which the latter, instead of being the principal object in the picture, is often rendered the most insignificant. It would be better, in the case of large single figures, to follow another ancient arrangement, and place them on a background of ornamented quarries. In the choir of St. Sebald's church, Nuremburg, is a late Decorated canopy, representing the interior of an apse with figures in it, which extends quite across a four-lighted window. Such a canopy, if properly treated, might be rendered highly conducive to the general effect of the picture. Whether its strong cast of colour might not prove too heavy for a *mullioned* window, is a question that cannot be easily determined without trying the experiment. It certainly would not be heavier in effect than many ancient designs. I consider strong Stipple Shadows, good drawing, and a large quantity of white glass of a cold tone, indispensable to the full effect of a Picture founded on the ancient Decorated model. The artist would, I think, do well to avoid, in these works, a too liberal use of the yellow stain, on account of its tendency to impart a yellowness to the surrounding white glass. Many modern windows in which much stain is used, especially those composed of the yellow tinted "Cathedral Glass," appear at a little distance as if they were wholly yellow. It should be borne in mind that the stained yellow being rarely, like another colour, surrounded with an outline of considerable strength, there is little to counteract its diffusive tendency.

It is unnecessary to make any lengthened observations on the subject of Picture windows, designed for Perpendicular and Classical edifices. The artist would notfail to borrow, as suitable to the nature of modern glass, the breadth and arrangement of colour, which is equally displayed in the works both of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ; whilst a careful study of the Cinque Cento style would teach him to avoid, by means of strong transparent shadows, the spottiness and indistinctness of Perpendicular Picture glass Paintings, and to produce the most powerful and striking effects with the most flimsy materials. It would be easy, without, of course, using Cinque Cento forms, to adopt the Cinque Cento improvements on

Gothic designs, so as to increase the general effect of the picture by means of its architectural details. A gayer tone of colouring might easily be imparted to glass paintings intended for Classical buildings ; and in these works, if not in the glass paintings intended for the later Perpendicular architecture, the use of landscape back-grounds, exhibiting such graduated shades of colour as the modern improvements on the Mosaic System can effect, would not be out of character, except in those cases where, owing to the darkness of the situation or other circumstances, a more simple style of colouring would be requisite ; and which might involve the use of plain back-grounds to the pictures. In like manner a more severe character could be imparted to the glass painting in other respects, according to the severity of the architecture. Indeed, severity of style, that is, the simplicity which suggests no defect, as in Greek art, is not only attainable in a glass painting, but seems most in accordance with the principles of the art. The ornamented quarry patterns would be as appropriate now as they ever were for Perpendicular buildings, and it would be easy to enrich them when necessary, by the introduction of small coloured pictures, or knots of foliage : whilst "Round Glass," in panes of at least 6 inches diameter, would be found a cheap, appropriate, and effective material for white Pattern windows, intended for Classical edifices.[7]

The foregoing observations will not have been useless, should they merely have the effect of directing attention to a point in general too little regarded in the selection of a painted window ; its fitness for the place it is intended to occupy. Of course the mode of execution must depend on the artistic skill of the painter.[8] We cannot expect any general improvement in glass painting to take place so long as considerable patronage is bestowed on unworthy objects ; so long as great countenance is given to works,

[7] The windows of Michael Angelo's noble design for the church of St. John Baptist, at Florence, are represented as glazed with Round glass. See Jacob de Rubeis, "Insignium Romæ Templorum," plate 48.

[8] I presume that The Commissioners on the Fine Arts are not responsible for the execution of the painted windows of the House of Lords.

the design and execution of which would not be tolerated in any other branch of art.

My best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln for granting me free access to the glass in their Cathedral, and other assistance which materially facilitated my researches.

C. Winston.

THE SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONS WHICH PREVAIL IN THE NAVE OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

I. In an age when nò dominant system of architecture is recognised, and every builder does very much that which is right in his own eyes, there is great danger lest the canons of art, which are universal, and wholly independent of the language or clothing in which at any time the art is dressed or embodied, suffer from the same licence with which all styles of architecture are treated. And a short inquiry whether any regular system of proportions was used in designing the magnificent structure which we are examining, whose harmonious whole, from whatever cause it sprung, we all confess, may form a fit companion to the archaeological investigation which is happily in such able hands, and into which field I shall not presume to enter.

On the importance of the harmony of proportion in classical art, all writers, from Vitruvius downwards, have insisted, and it is found written in the clearest language in the monuments of antiquity and the works of all architects since the Revival, who have produced anything great and good. But there have been some bold enough to assert, or what is worse, to show by their practice a disbelief in its importance in Gothic architecture, and to maintain that it is not found in the works of the medieval builders, and that the success of their architecture is the result of lucky accident, and perhaps caprice. Beauty in art, without system, or the presence of a master mind, which is a system to itself, is almost as absurd as if, after admiring the beauties of nature, we should raise the question,

> "Whether some soul encompassing this ball,
> Unmade, unmoved, yet making, moving all;
> Or various atoms interfering dance,
> Leapt into form the noble work of chance."
>
> Dryden, *Relig. Laic.* 15.

Hence it is most probable, that whenever in art the result is entirely successful, we may feel sure that good reason exists for every part, and by diligent search may be found: the following remarks are intended to contribute in a humble way to this most desirable result.

The pursuits of the Archaeological Institute necessarily combine the parts both of the Architect and the Antiquary; and although to the latter all subjects which elucidate the history of nations through the medium of architecture,—which has been always a faithful mirror of the state of a nation's life and feelings,—are most justly the objects of his most careful attention, it is only when these works are combined with beauty that they are to be selected as models for the architect.

The respect in which Vitruvius was held in the middle ages renders it improbable that the maxims of numerical proportion which he inculcates were quite thrown overboard by the architects of those times; and although very much that was done is barbarous and absurd, yet many of their works are worthy of all admiration, and none more than this Cathedral of Lincoln.

It by no means follows that all structures which have numerical ratios in their proportions look well, but it will be interesting to inquire whether a building, which certainly is beautiful, possesses the principle of regular proportion, as it may still be absolutely essential to beauty that architectural fitness in other respects be combined with harmony in the dimensions of the leading parts. In following out investigations like the present great care must be taken to have a uniform system of comparison of the different parts; and in what is about to follow I will state that all ichnographical dimensions, except otherwise particularly mentioned, are taken in the clear between walls and piers, &c.; and all dimensions of elevation are taken to the top of each separate architectural division: as by sometimes measuring from the top of one moulding and the bottom of another, we are liable to stumble upon accidental proportions which are of course fallacious; and though they may sometimes contribute to beauty, are no evidence of design in the architect. All the

following remarks relate to the interiors of the different buildings about to be alluded to. The opinion, I believe, is shared by many, that the architecture of the nave of Lincoln Cathedral is of the highest order of beauty and dignity, and superior, especially in the latter respect, to all other parts of the Cathedral. I have endeavoured, by a careful admeasurement of this part of the building, in which I have been kindly and effectually assisted by the Dean and Chapter, to find out whether or no the proportions do agree with one another numerically. The accompanying section and elevation of one bay of the interior are reduced from large drawings made on the spot for this purpose.

It will first be necessary, if possible, to explain a remarkable irregularity of plan which is seen at the west end of the nave, and which would seem at first sight to render visionary all ideas of congruity.

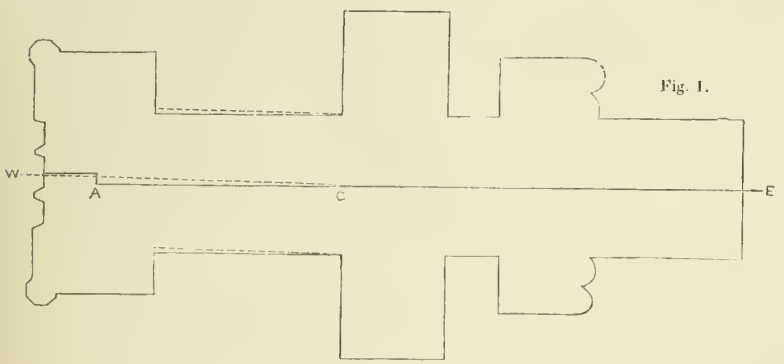


Fig. 1.

If we refer to the accompanying diagram (fig. 1), in which this irregularity has been somewhat exaggerated, it will be observed, that the axis of the choir is continued in a straight line nearly to the end of the nave, and then breaks off suddenly to the North, and falls into the axis of the Norman West Front.

Now it appears, that the architect who built the choir intended to have given the axis of the nave an obliquity with respect to that of the choir, as the line c w ; as is found to be the case in many foreign and English cathedrals and

parish churches,[1] otherwise there was then no occasion for him to have built that part of the church out of parallel with the axis of the Norman work. However, when the rebuilding of the nave was commenced, the architect, or those who employed him, were not so much under the influence of symbolism (if, indeed, the inclination of axis alluded to be symbolical, and not intended to produce a variety in the perspective,) and very properly decided on carrying out the axis of the new work in a continuous straight line, C A, with that of the choir, intending, no doubt, to clear away all the Norman work, and build an entirely new West Front, at right angles to the line of the choir, which the present Front is not.

Reckoning from the central, or Rood Tower, as it is called, (now, vulgarly, Broad Tower, by a perversion of the old name,) five of the seven architectural bays of the nave are about 26·6 feet[2] in extent, from east to west—the sixth and seventh are 21·3 feet. We may suppose that at the time the building arrived at the sixth arch economical reasons suggested the incorporation of the Norman work in the clumsy way in which we see it ; and the contraction of the span of the last two arches, and a sudden lowering of the vault by about 2 feet, (which takes place over the sixth arch,) are the signs of the sacrifice of architectural propriety at which this saving was effected. Had seven bays been carried out, of the same breadth as the first five, and with a deep porch, perhaps similar to that of Peterborough externally, the whole of the consecrated area[3] might have been covered by

[1] St. Peter's at Rome, Ratisbon Cathedral, Norwich, Peterborough, York, and many others. The most remarkable and extravagant case which I have observed, is St. Mary's, Oxford.

[2] I scarcely need apologise to the reader for facilitating any calculations which he may be disposed to make upon the above dimensions, and those that will follow, by using the decimal subdivision of the foot; which system I have found of so much advantage, both from its ease in reading off, and decreased liability to error in measuring, as well as facility in operations upon the dimensions obtained, that I can confidently recommend those who are occupied with the measurement of architecture, for its own sake, to provide themselves with rules and tapes decimally divided; although we must await the tardy movements of the legislature before it can be generally introduced into commerce and the measurement of artificers' work.

[3] A point which, though perhaps not always insisted on, was yet considered of great importance in the middle ages. A desire to inclose in the new church the whole of the ancient Basilica, led in St. Peter's at Rome to the abandonment of the Greek cross of Michael Angelo.

a uniform structure of simple proportions. We indeed may be thankful for the archaeological interest which this circumstance has preserved to us in the remains of Bishop Remigius's West Front, and admire in the exterior the skill and beauty with which the Early English Front is composed around the Norman nucleus; it nevertheless cannot be denied, that the interior suffers greatly from this irregularity, and it may be safely affirmed, formed no part of the original intention of the architect.

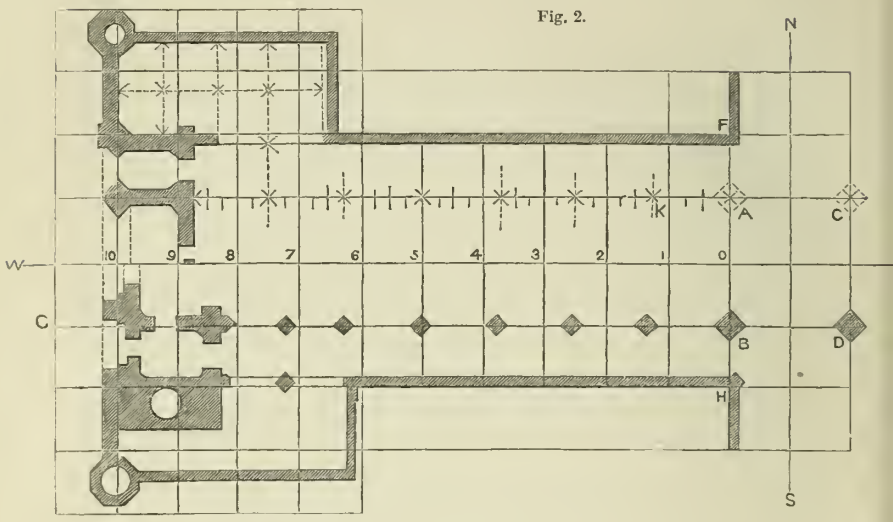
II. Mr. Cockerell has shown from the authority of Cesariano, an early commentator on Vitruvius, who published his work in 1521, [see Winchester Volume,] that frequently the plans of the medieval churches were laid out on a system of squares, which by their intersections, determined the centres of all the main supports of the building.

The tendency towards this system with greater or less degree of approximation, is found to occur in so many churches, that after comparing a sufficient number of examples, we can hardly refuse to admit that it is a law which had great authority with, at least, the more orthodox of the middle age architects, although they did not scruple to modify it when they saw occasion; as all artists of distinction, as well as poets, have ventured to do with the laws which they in the main obey; preserving the spirit, while they dispense with the letter.

This method of squares, called by Cesariano the *Rule de Pariquadrato*, will be found to a considerable extent impressed on the Nave of Lincoln. If we divide the space inclosed within the centres of the four great piers of the tower, A, B, C, D, on diagram, (Fig. 2), into four squares, and continue similar squares westwards, and north and south, as far as is necessary to inclose within their reticulation the whole of the nave, we shall find that the system exactly coincides with the outside of the walls H F, with the line of the centres of the piers B G, and with the axis of the nave E W. Also that the interval between the piers is such, that the fourth intercolumniation (to borrow a term from classical architecture,) agrees very nearly with the intersection of the fifth square reckoned from the west pier of the Rood Tower; and the

sixth pier, had the arches been all equal, would have been found exactly in the middle of the eighth square.

Fig. 2.



Now, these two circumstances taken together, viz., the absolute coincidence of the squares reckoned North and South, with the outside of the walls, and the line of the centre of the piers ; and the approximate coincidence of four intercolumniations with five squares, reckoned East and West ; suggest strongly that the original draught of the plan contemplated seven[4] arches, the interval of whose piers from centre to centre should have a proportion of five to four with the sides of the above-mentioned squares. The sides of the latter, as derived from the measurements of the breadth, are 21·65 feet, and five-fourths of this is 27·06 ; seven times this latter dimension would be 189·42, the presumed length intended for the nave from the centre of the Great Tower pier to the West wall. The intervals of the arches (as is likely on the first draught of the plan,) being supposed all equal, and irrespective of any differences in the size of the piers. (See diagram upper half, A and K.)

Now, when we come to consider the actual dimensions, we

[4] It is hardly necessary to point out the constant recurrence of this number in ecclesiastical architecture.

find that the semi-diameter of the Tower piers is 5·51 ; the first arch of the nave nearest to the Tower is 21·63 in clear interval : the $\frac{1}{2}$ diameter of the ordinary piers, 2·15 ; the clear intervals of the second and three following arches are very nearly equal to each other, and average 22·30 ; that of the last two arches is 17·00. The distance from centre to centre in the former case being 26·6, in the latter, 21·30. I have endeavoured to show that these last were not originally intended to be smaller than the rest, and assume it to be so granted in what follows, observing only that, when it was decided to alter the first design, it was thought desirable to make these two intercolumniations equal to the sides of the *pariquadrato* squares.

Now, when it became necessary in the further working out of the plan, to determine the exact sizes of the piers, we may suppose that the architect was unwilling to alter the full extent assigned to the nave in the first draught of his plan, as before mentioned, and obtained the space necessary for the extra-diameter of the Tower piers, by reducing the intervals of all the arches. With regard to the small difference between the arch of the nave nearest the Tower and the other four of similar span, there appears strong evidence, from examination of the flat nature of the mouldings of the piers of the Tower, a circumstance pointed out by Professor Willis, that these piers were strengthened subsequently to their first design, and most likely when the works of the nave were commenced : this would readily account for the contraction in the span of the first arch of the nave to the extent of ·67 feet. In which case the originally intended diameter of the Tower piers would have been 9·78 feet, which is about two-and-a-quarter of the ordinary piers, which latter are exactly one-fifth of the sides of the squares.

However this may be, the distance between the centre of the Great Tower Pier and that nearest to it Westwards is 29·28 instead of 27·06, as first designed (according to the hypothesis). Taking this quantity together with six times 26·60, the average interval of the piers, we obtain $6 \times 26{\cdot}60 + 29{\cdot}28 = 188{\cdot}88$, for the entire length of the nave, as given by the actual dimensions, after eliminating the irregularity of

the two western arches. The difference between this last dimension and 189·42 is just 1 in 350, a small quantity, which in a Gothic building need not, I think, be questioned. Supposing this dimension to have been carried out, the whole internal length of the Cathedral would be exactly bisected by the centre of the eastern arch of the Tower, so that the intended length of the nave may have determined the actual extent of the Presbytery; and we may readily conceive that the architect to the Presbytery had access to the original drawings prepared for the earlier parts of the building.

On the lower half of the diagram No. 3, I have shown a block plan of the actual arrangements of the nave, and on the upper half that which I imagine to have been marked out on the first draught of the plan, before the sizes of the piers were determined; and I have further ventured to suggest a West front, somewhat similar in character to the present, but unfettered by pre-existing Norman works—the pier of the large arch of the front being placed over the intersection of the 10th square, and brought forward to the line of the Old Norman Front.[5]

The unparalleled lightness of the piers, with reference to the arches, &c., which they support, resulting from the above-mentioned ichnography, is most important to be

[5] I have not taken any dimensions to elucidate this question beyond the nave, but I find, judging from an accurate plan made by Mr. E. J. Willson, that the choir seems to be built upon the true Pari-quadrato principle, the squares being of the same size as those in the nave; but, inasmuch as the choir is wider than the nave, the squares which are there outside the walls are here inside—a licence observable in many instances. The centres of the columns are precisely determined by the intersections of the squares. A desire in the architect of the nave to obviate the low effect produced by the choir, perhaps may have led him to place his walls within, instead of without the squares, according to the stricter pari-quadrato arrangement.

The arches of the presbytery seem pariquadrate with the outside of the walls, but the middle space is less than two squares; so the method there prevails in the aisles, but not in the central opening.

The height of the choir appears to be obtained, as is so frequently the case, from that of an equilateral triangle, whose base lies within the walls. In the nave it is obtained by a square placed within the same limits, which, though less symbolical, is more commensurate.

Again, I think it will be found, if the length of St. Hugh's choir can be recovered, that the whole length of the church, from west to east, was then such, that it included the transepts within the Vesica Piscis, (vide Professor Cockerell's Paper, Winchester Volume.) At present, owing to the extension of the Presbytery, the transepts are very nearly half the entire length, the dimension, including their north and south walls, being just the internal length from the rood-screen to the east wall.

noticed. Their diameter is 4·28 feet, which is only one-tenth of the distance measured, across the nave, from the centre of one pier to that of the opposite, the latter dimension being 43·32 feet.

The bold and scientific manner with which this is effected is worthy of the distinguished mathematician who then occupied the see of Lincoln ; for though there seems to be no actual evidence that Grossetete took any immediate part in these works, his influence must, nevertheless, have been felt.

The ratio of voids to solids appears to be more remarkable than is to be found in any vaulted building in Europe ; at least, among the larger structures.

Measurements taken immediately above the plinths give the following proportions :—

Voids, 1056 ; supports, 107 ; or the former nearly ten times the latter, including in the supports the external buttresses and walls ; in the voids the clear internal area of the church.

The greatest care was taken by the architects in the foundations of the piers. The footing courses, as may be seen by reference to the engraved section in a following page, have so much projection that they extend laterally, until they meet those of the aisle walls. Evidence is to be found, on examination, above the capitals of the piers, that, at first, timber tie-beams were left connecting the springings of the arches with each other, and with the aisle walls—a provision of great value during the progress of the work, and until the perfect solidifying of the mortar.

These precautions (without which it could not have been safely raised with such slight supports), and the advantage of solid rock for the foundation, have preserved this admirable structure to the present day.[6]

The architectural effect produced by this bold, but scientific construction, is admirable, and seems to be peculiar to this cathedral ; especially when viewed in a somewhat sub-

[6] Judging from the appearance of the building, for which, however, thanks to the judicious care of the Dean and Chapter, no fears need be entertained, it may be questioned whether much greater lightness in the supports could have been obtained with impunity.

duced morning or evening light (for the destruction of the stained glass in the nave is greatly to be deplored, as much more light is now admitted than is suitable to the architecture), a marvellous idea of space and grandeur is produced.

If we stand under the eastern arch of the cross at the rood-screen, the eye is enabled to penetrate through three bays of the nave, and receive the full effect of the size of the whole building—sufficient richness being secured to the aisle walls by the happy arrangement of giving two bays of aisle windows to each arch.[7]

The appearance of size is, by this, so much enhanced, that, although the choir and presbytery are really wider than the nave, it is impossible to be persuaded of the fact without measurement. This increase of apparent size is certainly one of the tests of fine proportion in buildings, notwithstanding that much has been said and written to the contrary; and St. Peter's at Rome has frequently been cited in confirmation of the idea that fine proportion gives the effect of small size. Mr. Joseph Woods, in his agreeable and able work ("Letters of an Architect," &c., vol. i., page 372, *et seq.*), has completely controverted this position in the case of St. Peter's. The following method, which may be tried in any cathedral or large parish church with aisles, will show that it is generally fallacious.

It must be admitted that, abstractedly,[8] the proportions of the central nave of this, or any other cathedral, are better than those of the aisles, each of these parts being considered separate from the other. For instance, in the nave of Lincoln Cathedral, we have—Height, 2; breadth, 1; length, 5; very nearly. In the aisle—Height, 2; breadth, 1; length, 10; very nearly. Hence, in the one, the length is excessive; in the other, it is fairly balanced.

Now, if it be true that the appearance of *small* size is produced by good proportions, it follows that bad proportions tend to give the effect of *great* size. Hence the aisle, because

[7] I know of no other example of this arrangement in this country. It occurs occasionally in Italian gothic.

[8] When proportions are spoken of as good in the abstract, they must be limited to relations between moderately small numbers, such, for instance, as produce harmony in music. Thus *e.g.* 5 : 3 : 2 is better than 3 : 2 : 13 (*et sim.*).

of its want of good proportion, ought to look longer than the nave.

But let a spectator stand in the transept over against one of the aisles (say the southern), and first look westwards along the aisle sufficient time to receive a full impression of the size of the different parts, and especially the distance of the west wall; then let him proceed northward, past the line of pillars, and as soon as the nave opens upon him, the idea of size of every kind will be increased; he will imagine himself to be in a much longer structure than before, and the west wall will appear, at least, one bay further off; and, unless he know the building well, he will be liable to doubt whether the end of the aisle be really in the same place with that of the nave.[9] Hence the comparatively ill-proportioned aisle, so far from looking longer than the well-proportioned nave, is shown to produce quite an opposite effect.

III. The following observations relate to the general proportions with reference to length, breadth, and height.

We must all have remarked that the continental cathedrals have their central naves loftier—both actually and also with respect to their breadth—than ours; on the other hand, in ours the length is much greater in proportion. No doubt in the relations of breadth to height this is altogether the case. But with regard to the no less important proportion of length to height, the difference which at first appears to indicate two states of feeling, widely at variance with each other, may yet be in some measure reconciled if we take into consideration the important feature of the rood screen, which is almost always much less considerable and often a mere railing in the foreign cathedrals;[1] but in England, with scarcely any exception, it divides the church into two parts, and is so lofty that it almost entirely destroys

[9] The nave of Lincoln Cathedral is not very favourable for this experiment, owing to its western parts being so much obstructed by the piers of the Norman Towers and their clumsy casing, but the same method may be applied to other parts of this cathedral, or to any other. It first occurred to me in the Church of St. Sulpice, Paris. The effect will be increased if there be no figures to give a scale to the architecture.

[1] No doubt, in many cases on the Continent, where the rood screen is now wanting, it has been demolished, but in some it can never have been anything but a mere railing. This is especially the case in Italy.

the effect of the perspective from end to end. But if we stand at the rood screen itself, and look east and west, we find that the length resolves itself into two harmonious proportions, each of which does not differ much in the ratio of length to height from that of the single proportion of the great French churches.

In this comparison of English with foreign cathedrals I confine my remarks to the proportions of the central naves only, as these occupy the whole attention at first sight; and the discrimination of the differences produced by double or single aisles, or other diversities of plan, is a subsequent process of the mind.

In Lincoln Cathedral the rood screen is under the centre of the eastern arch of the great tower. Measured from hence, the length of the nave is 255 feet, that of the choir 231·5 feet, the height of the former is 80 feet, the latter about 74. The proportion of length to height in both these is as 16 to 5, very nearly. The clear breadth of the nave is 39·04 feet, and the proportions may be thus given: length 160, height 50, the breadth being 24·5.

The following are the dimensions of the central nave in the very perfect and uniform Cathedral of Bourges—length 328 feet, height 119·5, breadth 41, which may be reduced into the following proportion: 160 to 58, the breadth being 20, where the ratios of length to height do not differ very greatly from the proportions derived from the nave and choir of Lincoln, considered separately.

The great length affected in the English cathedrals may have had the aim of producing external importance, an object which has certainly been attained. But the interiors appear to suffer much from it, unless their parts be viewed by themselves as here suggested. The rood screens are very valuable in this respect, namely, that they break the excessive length of our first class cathedrals. The nave of Lincoln and the choir of York seem to have nearly reached the perfection of Gothic architecture, both in their proportions and their details; but it may be questioned whether both would not greatly suffer by the demolition or removal of the rood screens; which on the other hand would be

ELEVATION OF ONE BAY
in the North aisle of the Nave

HALF SECTION OF THE NAVE.
looking West

beneficial to such a building as Westminster Abbey, where the height is sufficient to balance the entire length.

I shall conclude with some remarks on the symmetrical relations among the heights of the different parts:—In the elevation of one bay of the interior, given in the plate, the height to the underside of the vault above the clerestory windows, is just 80 feet, which is the same as the height of the centre of the vault, as well as the horizontal internal breadth between the aisle-walls. The measurements given below were taken with great exactness from one of the middle bays on the north side.[2] If we divide this height into 26 parts, these will be found to agree in an exceedingly accurate manner with the principal divisions of the bay. (Referring to the letters on the woodcut).

From the ground to the top of the capitals of the piers, A: 8 parts, 24·62; measured height, 24·7. Hence to the top of the triforium string, B: 6 parts, 18·46; measured height, 18·37. From hence to the top of clerestory string, D: 5 parts, 15·38; measured height, 15·04.[3] Hence to the underside of the vault, E: 7 parts, 21·64; measured height, 22·0. The height of the springing of the vault is 54·1 from the pavement; had it been 53·4 we should have had for the vault, one-third of the whole height, and two-thirds for the height of the springing above the pavement. This may have been the proportion first selected, and afterwards slightly modified when the vault came to be considered, for

[2] A partial disagreement which is found in the heights of the north and south sides of the nave must not be passed over, otherwise, if unexplained, it would seem incompatible with that love of symmetry which I wish to attribute to the architect. The tops of the bases of the columns on the north side are nearly a foot (·76 feet) above the level of those on the south. The piers are equal in height, and the compensation takes place in the space occupied by the pier arches, for the similar members on each side above the capitals are on the same level with one another. This licence, or whatever it is to be called, must be laid at the door of the preceding architect who built the choir, on whose freakish disposition Professor Willis has commented, for the same irregularity is found in the height of the bases and capitals of the choir piers, and these lines having been already continued through the transepts, it was probably thought inexpedient to alter them when the works of the nave were commenced.

[3] The appearance of the triforium justifies the conclusion that the calculated quantity was that really intended, as there appears to have been some little difficulty in working out the design with the actual dimension, and the tracery of the triforium is somewhat crowded into the space provided for it. It seems the more likely that this was owing to an error of the workmen, as the excess of the clerestory division would exactly fill up the deficiency of the triforium.

the centres of the circles which form the transverse ribs are found to be so placed that the distance between them (16 feet) is exactly one-fifth of the whole height of the nave.

Other cases of proportion and symmetry could be pointed out in Lincoln, and in other English and foreign cathedrals.[4] Those which I have pointed out, which are entirely derived from my own measurements, are sufficient to show that there is evidence of design shown by the builders of the middle ages in the selection of their dimensions; and I think we can hardly resist the conclusion, that it is in a great measure owing to these relations among the leading proportions (doubtless carried much further than I have at present traced them) that the results in the medieval structures are for the most part so harmonious, and so justly to be admired, in spite of their many and inexplicable extravagances in details.

F. C. PENROSE, M.A.

[4] In Bourges Cathedral (to the leading proportions of which I have already alluded,) the height of the vaults agrees with that of an equilateral triangle, whose base occupies the breadth from centre to centre of the external walls. Some of the heights of the subdivision may be obtained from parts of this triangle, others seem to have been determined by integral numbers of French feet. The height from the floor to the underside of the vault, both on the centre and above the clerestory windows, is 119·5 feet, equal to 112 French feet. There are 50·3 French feet to the top of the columns. The height to the top of the triforium string is half the base of the great equilateral triangle, 64·6 French feet.

The springing of the vault is the same height with the top of the clerestory string, which is 19·1 French feet above the triforium string, and a dimension of 28·3 French feet more reaches to the underside of the vault.

In the Cathedral of Metz the height is 130 French feet, 138·6 English feet.

If the whole height be divided into 300 parts, 50 will determine the capital of the piers, 100 the triforium string, 160 the clerestory string, 195 the springing of the vault; [this is also 30 ÷ 7 × breadth;] 240 the springing of the arches of the clerestory windows, 300 the under side of the vault.

It will be seen that although there is no analogy whatever in this example to the symmetries of Bourges Cathedral, where the pier arches are the grand feature, being $\frac{7}{12}$ of the whole height very nearly, while at Metz they are only $\frac{1}{12}$, their height being sacrificed to that of the magnificent clerestory, nearly 65 feet in height; yet we find in both cases that the divisions were determined by rule.

In the Cathedral of Ratisbon, whose proportions seem to be among the finest in Europe, the ratio of the height to length is as 3 to 8; the height is 104·2 English feet, 110 Bavarian feet. This height, as in the case of Bourges, agrees precisely with that of an equilateral triangle, whose base extends from centre to centre of the external walls. The height of the bay of the nave above the clerestory windows is 102 feet. This is precisely 2·5 × breadth between the pillars. If it be divided into eleven parts, we shall discover the following symmetries.

From the pavement to the top of the capital of the piers, four parts. Thence to the top of the triforium string, two parts; two more to the springing of the vault. To the springing of the arches of the clerestory windows, one; and lastly, two parts remain for the tracery and mouldings of the windows. The triforium is small, and, as at York, merged into the design of the clerestory windows.

ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL REMAINS OF BISHOP GROSSETETE.

In looking over the catalogue of printed books in the library of the British Museum, I lately met with the following entry: "*Libellus Linconiensis de phisicis lineis, angulis, et figuris, per quas omnes accioues naturales complentur*," i.e., "the tract of Linconiensis concerning the physical lines, angles, and figures, according to which all natural actions are accomplished." The tract to which this title refers is a small Latin quarto in vellum, printed at Nuremberg in the year 1503; and it purports to be a republication, under the care of Andreas Stiborius Boius, a member of the Ducal College of Vienna, and Professor of Mathematics, of a treatise which is described as "profound in learning and utility" but "very rare," and "through the slothfulness (*ignavia*) of the scholars of our age hitherto unknown." On the title-page is a coloured engraving, representing the sun's rays streaming upon a convex mirror, and the phenomenon of refraction as exhibited by a stick in a vessel of water. The author of this treatise was the celebrated Robert Grossetete, who died Bishop of Lincoln in the year 1253, and who is well known for his contributions to scholastic literature, for his theological writings, and for the prominent stand which he took in defence of the liberties of the English Church.

The tract above referred to appears to have escaped the notice of Dr. Pegge, the biographer of Grossetete, as it is not mentioned in his catalogue of the editions of the prelate's writings. It seems to have been the first of Grossetete's physical tracts which was printed, and it is probably the only one which appeared in a separate form. A commentary on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics had, however, before been issued at Venice, in the year 1479, which passed through at least five editions. Eleven years after the publication of

the tract at Nuremberg, a collection of nineteen tracts by the same author, including the one above mentioned, was published at Venice. There is reason to think that all these tracts were written at Oxford, during the period of Grossetete's engagement as a lecturer in the schools. Of these the tract whose title has been given is by far the most remarkable. It comprises the sum of Grossetete's conclusions, original as well as derived, upon the constitution of the physical universe, with a particular application of those conclusions to the questions of the reflection and the refraction of light; and it contains some of the most ingenious examples with which I am acquainted, of a mode of investigation which, for a long period, was thought to be adequate to all the purposes of discovery in things divine and human. I design to give some account of this tract, and to show the relation which it bears, both in its method and in its general results, to the investigations of modern science. The copy to which I shall refer is the one contained in the Venice edition, this being much the more accurate of the two. It is a folio in black-letter, and is said to be extremely scarce.

I must beg to premise one or two remarks upon the general spirit and manner observable in the philosophical remains of the author. The method of philosophising common in his time consisted in assuming certain general principles, either upon the ground of their supposed reasonableness, or upon the authority of Aristotle and his leading commentators, and arguing from these as if they were laws of nature. Such is the method which Grossetete adopts in all his treatises; but in doing this he allows to himself a greater liberty as to the forms of argument employed in the process of deduction, than perhaps was customary at the period. There are some writers of that and of a subsequent age who never reason but in syllogisms, and deem it unlawful to deviate in any particular from the rigid forms of the scholastic logic. Grossetete, however, employs a more natural style, and in some instances analyses, and in others refutes, the arguments of his great master. In one tract he endeavours to show that the four-fold division of causes recognised by the followers of Aristotle, may be immediately derived from the consideration

of one primary description of cause, viz., that which Aristotle terms "the efficient cause." In another tract he attempts to show the fallaciousness of certain deductions of Aristotle, who, setting out from the assumed principle, that "whatever exists *actually* had before existed in its cause *potentially*," had arrived at the doctrine of the eternity of motion. Thus, although, in general, Grossetete thinks it enough to refer, after the manner of his age, to the authority of Aristotle for the support of a principle, yet there is sufficient in his writings to show that he was an independent thinker, and had by no means sacrificed the right of individual judgment.

Grossetete lays it down as the first principle of his doctrine of physics, that "every natural agent multiplies or disseminates its virtue," by which I understand him to mean its active power, "upon all surrounding objects, whether they be sensible or simply material." And in support of this doctrine he urges, that a natural agent does not operate by deliberation or free-will, and therefore can but operate after one constant manner; the difference of effect produced depending upon the difference of capacity in the things acted upon. Thus he remarks, that the same action of the sun melts ice and hardens clay, through the difference of the passive recipients of that action.

He postulates as a second principle of physics, that the virtue or active force exerted by a natural agent is more powerful, the shorter the distance it has to traverse. And to this he adds from Aristotle, the principle that Nature operates by the shortest method possible. From which the conclusion is left to be inferred, that the mode of Nature's operation is the most powerful possible.

Again, he lays down the principle that Nature operates in the best mode possible. Then, assuming from Boetius that equality is better than inequality, and adding to this, that a right line possesses equality in its parts, he infers that the virtue of natural agents operates in straight lines, and thus operates in the best mode possible.

Similarly referring to Aristotle for the principle that there is greater union and unity (*unio et unitas*) in a straight line than in any other, and assuming that all united virtue is

more powerful than that which is not united, he deduces that Nature operating in straight lines fulfils the prior condition of operating more powerfully than in any other way.

And by such arguments he infers that light travelling unimpeded through a single medium will move in straight lines. Some of the intermediate steps, however, have no logical connexion with this or any other physical conclusion arrived at; and one of them involves a fallacy in geometry, in what, in the present day, would be called the doctrine of limits.

When there are two media, he remarks that the second either impedes the transit of light, in which case the ray is reflected; or permits its transit. And in the former case he states the true law of reflexion, needlessly distinguishing, however, between the case in which the incident ray is perpendicular and that in which it is oblique. But he does not attempt to deduce that law from his principles, nor does he give any other explanation of reflexion than by saying that reflexion weakens the virtue of the ray.

If there be two media, he remarks that the ray will be refracted into a course intermediate between its original direction and the direction of the perpendicular to the bounding surface, *i.e.*, *toward* the perpendicular, when the second medium is denser than the former, and that it will be refracted in the opposite direction, in the opposite case; of both which facts (for they are clearly facts of observation,) the implied explanation is that the virtue of the ray is less weakened by refraction than by reflexion, and therefore the ray deviates less from its original course. Of the law of refraction afterwards deduced by Suellius, there is, as we should expect, no account.

The difference between the action of polished and unpolished surfaces on light, is referred to that principle of the stronger virtue of uniformity and equality, which has already been stated.

Grossetete enlarges upon his original assertion respecting the action of natural bodies, by affirming that this action is propagated spherically around them, not moving in the circumferences of spheres, but along their radii.

It will probably appear to those who have been taught by the lessons of modern science to estimate the value of exact definition, that a part at least of the above reasoning is little better than an ingenious play of words, to which no fixed meaning has been attached. I think, however, that there are one or two principles asserted to which a somewhat higher regard is due, and upon these I will venture to offer a few remarks.

The several principles, that Nature operates in the best,—in the shortest,—in the most effectual methods possible,—have some affinity with a principle of the modern mechanical physics, which properly understood and rightly applied is sufficient to lead to a solution of the problem, which Grossetete had proposed to investigate. But the principle to which I refer—the principle of *least action*, as it is termed—is a logical consequence of the ascertained laws of motion. It has a definite meaning, and is applied by known and definite and demonstrable methods. Far otherwise the case rests with Grossetete's assumption. I think it, however, an interesting fact that some faint and immature conceptions of such a principle should have been put forth by him, in connection with a problem which, after the lapse of centuries, it was to be shown capable of resolving.

The principle that the virtue or efficacy of natural agents is disseminated around them spherically, and along the radii of the spheres concerned, is undoubtedly an induction from experience. It is probable that Grossetete had speculated upon the circular motion of waves in a canal, from a centre of disturbance, the diffusion of sound and of odours, and other similar phenomena. In fact the so-called *à priori* positions of the schoolmen in physics are, for the most part, of one or the other of the two following kinds. Either they are imperfect inductions from experience, or they are expressions of a perhaps unconscious belief in the optimism of the constitution of nature. Of the latter kind are such principles as the following—that Nature employs the shortest route,—that equality in the mode of her operation is rather to be looked for than inequality,—regularity than irregularity,—perfection in figure than imperfection,—with many similar

propositions with which the writings of Aristotle abound. Such positions have, indeed, a certain measure of truth, although it is only in an advanced state of knowledge that the nature of that truth can be appreciated.

And it may, in conclusion, be remarked, that whichsoever of these distinct sources we assign to the axioms of the scholastic philosophy, in either case, the necessity and exclusive sufficiency of the inductive method will become apparent. For, if those principles are founded on imperfect inductions, drawn from limited experience, it is clear that more accurate and more extended observation must be needed as a basis for the induction which shall conduct to juster views. On the other hand, if they are based on the inquiry: What is the best constitution of Nature ? the answer which was given by Bishop Butler to the same question, somewhat differently applied, at once suggests itself, viz., that we have not faculties for this kind of speculation. So that the slow but certain method of patient experiment, followed by cautious inferences from its results, is the only one that is left to us, as at once consonant to our faculties and adequate to the purposes which we desire to accomplish.

George Boole.

AN ACCOUNT OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH'S PROGRESS IN LINCOLNSHIRE,

IN THE YEAR 1541.

BY JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

THE Progresses of Queen Elizabeth and of King James the First have been described and illustrated with much industry and success, by a family who have in three generations deserved eminently well of English literature, and especially of antiquarian and historical literature: but hitherto we have had only slight casual or occasional notices of the progresses of our earlier sovereigns, though they were all great travellers, some of them visiting during their reigns almost every portion of their dominions.

At the meeting of the Institute, which was held at York in 1846, I gave such account as I was able to collect of the visit which King Henry the Eighth paid to the county of York, in the thirty-third year of his reign, A. D. 1541. I showed his removes day by day, and gave slight notices of the places least familiar to the public ear, at which he halted, both as he advanced to the city of York, and as he returned southward. Both in going and returning he passed through Lincolnshire, and it has been suggested to me by a gentleman of this county, who is a distinguished member of the Institute, that a similar account of this part of the progress will not be unacceptable or inappropriate on the occasion of the assembling of the Institute in this ancient city.

The king's intent in visiting York was to hold a personal conference with his nephew, the young King of Scotland, to consult on public affairs, touching the relations of the two kingdoms. But there was probably a secondary object: and he might not unreasonably expect that his own presence, that of his whole court, and the splendour of the royal magnificence, in the two lately disturbed counties of

Lincoln and York, might have the effect of dissipating the recollection of his former most extreme severities, and inducing a submission at least to the new ecclesiastical state which he was establishing in the realm. He took with him his young and beautiful queen, Catherine Howard, to whom he had been but a few months married, and the ladies of her gay court, together with the most eminent of his grave counsellors, and the most distinguished persons of the realm, including the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Cuthbert Tunstall the Bishop of Durham, the Earls of Oxford, Southampton, and Hertford, Lord Russell, Sir Ralph Sadler, and other members of his Privy Council. The whole progress appears to have been conducted with all imaginable pomp and state. Yet the public business of the country was not neglected, for the council sat every day, and they sometimes listened to complaints which arose in the country through which they passed, and gave judgment concerning them.

For the information by which we are enabled to trace the removes of the court from day to day, and from place to place, we are indebted almost entirely to two distinct contemporary records. First, the Journal of the King's Household for the year; and secondly the Daily Minutes of the Privy Council for the time. The latter were printed in 1837, by the Commissioners on the Public Records, one of their valuable contributions to the store of printed materials for the history of the country. Next to these is the information to be collected from the Itinerary of Leland, who in his first journey, as the journeys are arranged by Hearne, followed so closely in the king's track, both in part of the journey to the north, and in part of the return, that there is reason to suppose he may himself have formed part of the royal suite.

The king left his palace at Westminster on Sunday, the 1st of July, and passing through Enfield, St. Albans, Dunstaple, Ampthill, and Grafton, arrived at Northampton on the 21st. On the 23rd he was at Pipewell, the lately suppressed monastery on the borders of Rockingham Forest.

Leland speaks of the fairness of the buildings at Pipewell, and informs us that the king hunted in a park of his own, near the monastery. Hunting, we may observe, formed a part of the royal amusements in the whole of the progress. He remained for five days at Pipewell, and on the 28th was at Liddington, where was a manor-place belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln, who was at that time John Longland. The king was the bishop's guest for three days, and then removed to Colly-Weston, where was a house of his own. The greater part of this house had been erected by his grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby.

He was now close upon the borders of Lincolnshire, Colly-Weston being but a few miles south of Stamford.

The council sat at Colly-Weston on the 2nd and the 4th of August. They sat also on the morning of the 5th for a special purpose. It was to consider what it was proper to do in respect of a difficulty which had arisen in the town of Stamford, on receipt of intelligence that the king intended to honour that ancient borough with a visit. It was a case of precedence, service, and punctilio. The difficulty lay in determining at what precise point the king was to be received by the alderman of the town, who claimed to attend upon the king from the moment of his entrance into the parish of St. Martin, which is on the Northamptonshire side of the stream. This claim was resisted by the sheriff of Northamptonshire, who maintained that it was his right or duty to carry the white rod before the king, till the cortège arrived at the foot of the bridge. The question became more involved by a third claim, which was set up by the bailiff of the liberties of Peterborough, that it was his right or duty to do the honours which the sheriff was accustomed to do, from the king's entrance on the parish of St. Martin till his arrival at the foot of the bridge. This was no doubt a most unseasonable dispute, and most inconvenient interruption. But the council found means to dispose of the questions in a summary manner, avoiding the establishing any thing that could be construed into a rule or precedent for the time to come. Because the sheriff was his majesty's

principal and ordinary officer in the county of Northampton, and the council had not before them any precedent of the bailiff having ever exercised the privilege which he claimed, or any charter granting to the alderman of Stamford the right which he claimed to exercise south of the bridge, therefore it was determined that the sheriff of Northamptonshire should carry the white rod before the king, not merely to the foot of the bridge on the St. Martin's side, but unto the middle of the said bridge, and then the alderman of Stamford should meet the king with his mace at the foot of the bridge on the other side, and attend upon him to the furthest precinct of the town, on the further side of the water. As to the bailiff of the liberties, he must for this time surcease, and in no wise intermeddle. It was recorded on the minutes however that the decision was made for this time only, and only for the avoiding of confusion in the attendance on his majesty, and was by no means to be taken in prejudice of any claim which either the alderman or the bailiff might hereafter set up, or affect in any manner the accustomed duties in respect of subsidies or of town-burthens of the inhabitants within the parish of St. Martin.

Thus the difficulty was removed, and the king entered Lincolnshire in peace.

We have nothing to show whether or not it had been the king's intention to have remained for a day or two at Stamford; but we know that the king merely passed through the town, proceeding immediately to Grimsthorpe, where he arrived in the evening.

"The place of Grimsthorpe," says Leland, "was no great thing before the new building of the round court: yet was all the old works of stone, and the gate-house was fair and strong, and the walls on each side of it embattled. There is also a great ditch about the house." It was at that time a house of the king's brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to whom, and to his duchess (Mary, the king's sister being then dead) it had been given, with other great possessions, by the king to hold to him and to his duchess. This lady was the sole daughter and heir of the last of the

male-line of the Lords Willoughby de Eresby, and allied to some of the most splendid houses in Europe by her mother, a Spanish lady, who came to England in the train of Catherine of Arragon. I need scarcely add that this was the Duchess of Suffolk, who, after the duke's death, married Richard Bertie, in whose posterity Grimsthorpe descended, the duchess losing her two sons, the Brandons, successively Dukes of Suffolk in one and the same day.

We have no account of the entertainments, whatever they may have been, provided for the king on this visit to Grimsthorpe; but it may be presumed that the time was passed in splendid revelries, when we recollect what was the personal character of his brother-in-law, and find that though the council sat on the 6th and 7th of August, yet no business was done.

On the 8th the court removed to Sleaford, which is described by Leland as a town built for the most part all of stone, and having two houses that were superior to the rest, the one belonging to the parsonage, the other the residence of the Carrs, then represented by a person whom he calls "one Carr of Sleford, a proper gentleman, whose father was a rich merchant of the staple." But it is presumed that in neither of these houses did the king sleep that night, but rather in what Leland calls "the house or manor-place, lately almost new-builded of stone and timber, by the Lord Hussey, which standeth northward without the town." This house was probably then the king's own, as it had been forfeited by the attainder of Lord Hussey, who having been engaged in the great Lincolnshire insurrection, had been beheaded at Lincoln, in June, 1537.

A council was held at Sleaford on the 9th of August, and the king reached Lincoln in the evening.

The reception of the king into this city was no doubt conducted with all municipal pomp: but I know not that any account has ever been given of what was done on this occasion; the record, if any exists, will be in the books of corporation proceedings.

The council sat at Lincoln on the 10th and 11th. On the

latter of these days letters were written to the Earls of Westmoreland and Cumberland, requiring them to cause the Lord Scrope, and certain other persons of the county of York, to repair with diligence to the city of York, to be ready there to meet the king, and that the two earls should remain in their own houses on the borders, till they knew more of the king's pleasure.

But of the sojourn at Lincoln, short as it was, a sad story is to be told, for it was there, and on this occasion, that the first acts of criminality charged against the queen were committed; for which, soon after the return from this progress, she was brought to trial, convicted, and put to death. Lightness of conduct undoubtedly there must have been, but it is hardly credible that in the midst of so many observers she can have been so guilty as the records of her trial represent her.

The king, it will be observed, was on his way to York; and as he had also the intention of visiting Hull, where very extensive works were contemplated, it would appear to have been the natural course for him to have taken, to have pursued his way along the ancient road which conducted directly from this city to the Humber. But there was yet no information of the King of Scotland having left Edinburgh, and no certainty or even probability that he would be found at York if the King of England speeded his journey thither. In fact, the counsellors of the King of Scotland looked with something of suspicion, and with much disapproval, on the proposed personal interview, and ultimately the King of Scotland was induced to remain at home. Further, it had been a part of the plan from the beginning, and so in the old phrase, "the gests had been set down," that the king should visit his own manor-place at Hatfield, near Doncaster, and there take the diversion of hunting, which was to be enjoyed there in greater variety, and in higher perfection than perhaps any other of the king's forests and chases. When the king left Lincoln, he therefore turned aside from the direct course, and we find him on the evening of the 12th at Gainsborough, where he remained stationary for four days.

The business before the council in those days, respected only certain works which were in progress at Calais. The queen was charged with other acts of criminality during the residence of the court at Gainsborough.

Leland, whom we find treading precisely in the king's steps, going from Lincoln to Gainsborough, and from thence to Scrooby and Bawtry, describes Gainsborough as a good market-town, with little worthy of particular notice, except the parish church and its monuments, of which the most remarkable was that of Sir Thomas Borough, a knight of the garter, grandfather to the Lord Borough, who was then living.

There could be no house at Gainsborough which could receive the king, except the house of Lord Borough, which Leland describes as being a moated manor-place, by the west end of the churchyard, built by Sir Thomas Borough, whose monument was in the church; and there was no doubt that the king during the time of his stay at Gainsborough, was the guest of Lord Borough, who had been called to the House of Peers about twelve years before, and who had had the good sense or the good fortune, to take no part in the tumultuous proceedings which had brought destruction on several of the old families of Lincolnshire. There are at Gainsborough considerable remains of the house of the Lords Borough.

It is somewhat remarkable, that so little is said concerning this Lord Borough, the real founder of the dignity which his family enjoyed; and how uncertain and imperfect are the accounts of this eminent house in all the printed books to which we go for information concerning the dignities of the realm. It is, perhaps, not the family of all the noble houses of England which can be contemplated with the highest satisfaction, though the grandson of King Henry's host, the third Lord Borough, was a conspicuous person in the reign of Elizabeth. But when we find the children of one member of the family disowned, and the mother repudiated, and two brothers both losing their lives through private violence, we cannot but suspect that the pure ermine of their lilies was sometimes sullied

by crime, and that they sometimes drooped under severe misfortune. Dugdale's account of them is exceedingly unsatisfactory; and in the account which he gives, in which there is much uncertainty, he has no notice whatever of the marriage of one of them with Catherine Parr, and the consequence has been, that later writers of the life of this distinguished lady, have been unable to show to which of the Boroughs it was to whom she was united, and have even so far erred, as to represent her as the wife of the father of the Lord Borough whom the king visited, instead of his eldest son and heir apparent, who died before him. I speak, however, without the authority of contemporary record, and rely only on what appears the better testimony of the old heralds, who have left notices of this family. The inquiry is curious (considering that in a very short time Catherine Parr herself became queen), whether she were at Gainsborough at the time of this visit of the king, and whether she was at the time the wife or widow of a Borough; or, which is the more probable supposition, had, before this time, contracted her second marriage with Lord Latimer. Dates are here greatly wanted. Dugdale, by a most unaccountable oversight, twice speaks of her as the mother of the last Nevil, Lord Latimer.

As to the Lord Borough, he had married the daughter of Sir William Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby, and the king would find him surrounded with a numerous family.

At Gainsborough the king crossed the Trent on the seventeenth, and leaving the county of Lincoln, proceeded to Scrooby, where the Archbishop of York had a house: he slept there that night, and the next day reached his own manor-place, in the centre of the chase of Hatfield.

Here the thread of our story is broken. He was in Yorkshire from the eighteenth of August to the beginning of October. There has already been laid before the Institute, such account as I have been able to give of the incidents of that part of the king's progress. It is printed in the volume of the transactions at the York meeting.

We take up the thread again, when the king returns to

Lincolnshire. He crossed the Humber from Hull to Barrow. It was either on the fifth or sixth day of October, for there is a discrepancy between the two journals on which we rely for our chronology. On his arrival on the Lincolnshire coast, he proceeded at once to Thornton College.

This was the seat of a religious community, of which the king himself was the founder; for, having dissolved the monastery of the foundation of William Earl of Albemarle in the reign of Stephen, he transferred its possessions to a new religious community, consisting of a dean, and about twenty prebendaries, seated on the same spot. The inhabitants of the college met their founder in solemn procession, and conducted him to their house. He remained with them on the sixth, seventh, and eighth of October, the council sitting every day. On one of the days, a poor joiner from Louth was brought before the council, accused of neglecting to come to the king's works when summoned to do so, and of using disrespectful words concerning the king and the council. It appears to have been a malicious charge, as he had only required a little time to take order for the conveyance of his corn; and as to the contemptuous speaking, he utterly denied it. The council dismissed him harmless.

The religious community, the college properly speaking, of Thornton, had a very brief existence; for it was quite newly-founded in 1541, when the king was there, and it was dissolved in 1547, in pursuance of the act for the suppression of all foundations of the class to which it belonged. The buildings appear, from descriptions given of them when reduced to a state of ruin, to have been very extensive, and of an architecture highly elaborate and ornamented. De la Pryme, who visited the place in the year 1697, was amazed at the number of statues and other architectural ornaments which he found there, as well as at the extent of ground over which the ruins were spread. When dissolved, the site was granted to the Bishop of Lincoln in exchange for other lands; but, in a few years, we find it in possession of the family of Skinner, who held it for several generations, and of whom it is said, that they formed for themselves out of the

ruins a mansion, which soon perished in some remarkable and inexplicable manner, when they built for themselves a second house, not on the site, but near to it. To these Skinners belonged Cyriac Skinner, the friend of Milton. They descended in the female line from Sir Edward Coke; and they married in the family of Wentworth in its best days. They appear to have been a family of taste and refinement, of which we need no better evidence than the singularly touching and simple epitaph in the neighbouring church of Goxhill on the two youths, who had given early proof "that they were descendants of their virtuous, generous, and religious father, who had gone before to take possession for them of more continuing inheritances."

When the king left Thornton College, he bent his course to Kettleby, where, at that time, lived Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, father-in-law to the Lord Borough whom the king had visited at Gainsborough. Sir Robert must have been at that time an old man, since, at his death, in 1547, his grandson, Robert Tyrwhitt, was found to be his heir, and at the age of twenty-two years and more. His lady was a Tailboys, a family in great favour with the king, so that the Tyrwhitts had at that time splendid alliances on both sides. The business done at the council, which sat on one of the two days which the king spent at Kettleby, was unimportant, and not at all connected with the county or with the progress. Of anything else during the king's stay, we have no information; nor does Leland say anything of either Kettleby or Thornton. A century and a half later, when De la Pryme visited the place, he was told that the hall, then in being, had been built in the reign of James the First, "to entertain the king when he came a hunting into those parts;" and, further, that "Kettleby Hall has been a very fine structure, but they are now pulling it down." This was in 1697.

On the eleventh of October, we find, by the printed copy of the Minutes of the Privy Council, that the king was at Mr. Tourner's house. But "Tourner" is certainly an error either of the original scribe, or of Sir Harris Nicolas, the

editor under the Record Commission, as Tourney was the name, since the Tourneys were the owners of Kenby (Caenby), the name of the place to which the king removed from Kettleby in the Journal of the King's Household. But though the king himself was at Kenby, the council sat at the neighbouring village of Bishop's Norton, where they transacted business.

The Tourneys were a considerable family among the gentry of Lincolnshire of the sixteenth century, and were comprehended within the circle of which the Tailboys were the centre; John Tourney who was at that time the head of the family having married a sister of Gilbert Lord Tailboys. There was a race of Tourneys descended of this marriage at Kenby.

The king made no stay at Kenby, but proceeded on the next day by an easy day's journey to South Carlton, the seat of Mr. Monson, where he slept on that night. The council did not sit on that day.

Though called only Mr. Monson in the Records of the Privy Council, he was a knight at the time of his death; and it is supposed was knighted by the king on this visit to his mansion. He was an ancestor of the eminent family of Monson, who were among the first persons admitted into the order of baronets, and were afterwards raised to the peerage. He was an old man at the time of the king's visit, and at that time connected with the Tyrwhitts and Boroughs by the marriage of his son, William Monson, with a daughter of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, and, consequently, a niece of Lord Borough. Sir John Monson lived only seven months after he had received the honour of this visit, dying on the twenty-sixth of May, 1542.

The king was now in the near neighbourhood of Lincoln, and must have passed through the city a second time, as his next day's remove was to Nocton, where he slept on the thirteenth, but made no other stay there, proceeding on the next day to Sleaford. Nocton was at that time the property of Thomas Wymbysh, who had married the only daughter of Gilbert Lord Tailboys, the half-sister of Henry, Duke of Richmond,

the king's illegitimate son. Wymbysh died early, and his widow married Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, one of the sons of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. We see then here again, that the king, in his visits among the Lincolnshire nobility and gentry, kept himself within the circle of one great family connexion, consisting of the Tailboys, Wymbyshes, Boroughs, Tyrwhitts, Monsons, and Tourneys, all relatives. When, not long after this progress, he married Catherine, the widow of Sir Edward Borough, he might be said to become himself a member of this family circle.

From Nocton the king removed to Sleaford, where he received an ambassador of the King of Portugal, come to treat concerning the conveyance of certain wheat from England to Portugal. He made no longer stay, but proceeded to Grimsthorpe, where he slept; and on the next night he had left the county, and was at his own house at Colly-Weston, in Northamptonshire.

In ten days he was returned to Windsor, having passed through Fotheringhay, Higham-Ferrers, Willington, Ampthill, Ashridge, and Chenies, by the way. He arrived at Windsor on the twenty-sixth of October.

AN ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT RELATING TO MILITARY MUSTERS

IN THE PARTS OF KESTEVEN, LINCOLNSHIRE, DURING THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, A.D. 1590.

At the interesting period of English History when the country had been aroused in determined opposition to the hostile incursion of Spain, and the menaces of her Invincible Armada, the necessity of organising National defences of a permanent nature was viewed by the government as an object of paramount importance. A Commission of Array issued from her Majesty in Council to all the Justices of the Peace, in the various counties, "for general musters and trayning of all manner of persons, hable for the warres, to serve, as well on horseback as on foot."[1] The result of this commission was a strange and motley "weapon-schawing" in the various hundreds, when every man who had hanging up by his fireside, any "armure or weapons mete for the warres," came forth in all the bravery he could muster, and was enrolled in a book, to be sent to the Commissioners, according to his "hability" and equipment. And, if any poor man was destitute of even a rusty sword and ill-fitted corslet, and came unarmed to the field, he was examined as to "hability" alone. If he were "stout and deliver," [*i. e.*, nimble], he would be returned in the column of "able men," but if he were a craftsman of peaceable calling and sober timidity, he would be deemed and recorded an "artificer," or a "pyoneer," and serve in such humble calling accordingly.

"It is certain," says Rapin,[2] "that there are no trained bands in the world more proper for a bold action than those of England," and this opinion is confirmed by the official returns of these musters in many counties; but unhappily, in Lincolnshire, this was scarcely the case, in comparison with some other counties, especially the southern provinces,

[1] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa. [2] Vol. II., p. 135.

as Kent, or Sussex, and, I may add, the royal county of Berks. This is partly accounted for, as Lord Monson reminds me, on the natural principle that "the nearer the danger, the better the patriot." Still, however, it must be confessed that our author had too much reason for his sharp rebukes, for we find that the large county of Lincoln furnished to the defence of England such a scanty contingent in 1574, as the following extract from the contemporary register exhibits :[3]—

Able Men.	Armed Men.	Selected Men.	Artificers.	Pyoneers.	Demilances.	Light Horse.
6000	608	—	1300	—	—	—

Indeed, to so low an ebb was the martial spirit in these parts reduced, that, as the writer of the MS. declares, "no contrey that I knowe hathe lesse use daylie, then ours hathe, eyther of bowe, gunne, or any other warlike weapon ; and beinge not enewred, they are growen to a wonderfull sluggishe fearfulnes, in so muche that (as the proverbe is) it is as easye to drawe a beare to a stak [the stake, to which the bear was chained for baiting] as to bringe a rude Lincolnshier man, without auctoritye, to theise exercises."

This lethargic state of un-valour (to use no harsher term) so stirred up the spirit of some patriotic gentleman of the parts of Kesteven, evidently of the military profession, and probably an experienced officer, that he employed his leisure, about the year 1590, as appears by the MS., in devising a scheme, or "Platforme," for arming in a volunteer militia the "willinge, forwarde, and martiall mynded youthes" of that district. This curious document has here been printed with every care in the collation of the text with the original MS., which is preserved in the possession of Charles Tomkins, Esq., M.D., F.L.S., of Abingdon, Berks.

I much regret my inability to afford any account of the author, whose name has not been recorded, the document itself being abruptly broken off, without any collateral evidence by which the writer may be identified. It is just, that I should return my best thanks to the Right Hon. Lord Monson, the Rev. B. Bandinel, D.D., and Sir Henry Ellis, for their kind assistance in prosecuting my unsuccessful

[3] Peck's Desid. Cur., Vol. I., lib. ii.,p. 22.

inquiries as to the authorship of the MS., and to my friend Mr. Albert Way, for suggestions as to sources of information.

The MS. had been preserved in a collection of old family documents, amongst which it was discovered some years ago; and, having been carefully decyphered and transcribed, it is now for the first time printed.[4] It is written in a very distinct hand, on paper, and embellished with fanciful borders and decorations, occupying more than nine closely written folio pages, and it breaks off abruptly in the tenth page. The style of composition is spirited, and shows a hearty singleness of aim and patriotic enthusiasm, which cannot but awaken our fellow-feeling towards so gallant an "old English Gentleman," who endeavoured with hearty good-will to quicken the "wonderfull sluggishe fearfulnes" of the Fen-countrymen into his own fervent loyalty, and zealously felt that "there behoved him to set up the standard of Her Grace."

HENRY G. TOMKINS.

PROPOSAL ADDRESSED TO THE GENTLEMEN AND INHABITANTS OF LINCOLNSHIRE, TO ENCOURAGE THE RAISING OF A VOLUNTEER FORCE, OR MILITIA, ABOUT THE YEAR 1590.

A PLATFORME FOR THE VOLUNTARIE TRAYNINGE OF THE GENTILMEN AND OTHER YOUTHES OF THE P'TIES OF KESTIVEN[5] IN THE COUNTIE OF LINCOLNE.

THE proportion, Order and p'vic̃on,[6] required for the Lawdable Exersise and warlike Trayninge, of the willinge forwarde & martiall mynded youthes of the p'ties[7] of Kestiven, in this Countie of Lincolne, aswell gentlemen & yomen as Artificers and husbandmen, w^t^ the manner, meanes & order, necessarie to be observed at the tymes of their assemblies, in their Trayninge & Martiall exersises: how to begin, p'ceed[8] & continewe the same w^t^ daylie encrease, aswell in Number, as in order and

[4] The contractions in the original MS. have been retained, with the exception of the terminal contraction in the plurals of several words, which, appearing by the context to denote — es, has been so printed *in extenso*, as in pykes, corslettes, &c. The punctuation has also been retained, with a few additions only, where the evident sense of the text rendered them desirable.

[5] Kesteven is the S.W. division of the county.

[6] Provision.

[7] Parts. French, *parties*.

[8] Proceed.

furnyture. A devise althoughe upon a sudden by me rudlie plotted, yett maye yt in short tyme (as I suppose) by the grave advice of the wyse & experienced, accrewe to suche p'fection, as shall not onlye be a Pleasante exercyse and recreation to the actors, & a plawsible Content to the beholders, but also p'fitable in manye respecttes to onr Contrey, and in tyme maye make yt bothe stronge and famos. To the better execution wherof not onlye I, but manye others also yonge gentlemen my betters that be thus resolved, do humblye ymplore and beseche, bothe the honorable and worshipfull of this our Contrey, to putto their helpinge handes in some measure, to sett forward theise our good endevoires: the w^{ch} their Curtesies, we will alwaies have in reverent regarde as our dutie is.

The causes and occations movinge us.

Seinge therfore yt hathe pleased thalmightye Creator, to gyve unto us Englishemen generallie, more then to other Nations, not onlie suche bodies as be stronge, well p'portioned and deliver,[9] but coragious hartes, undaunted spirittes & my[n]des[1] invincyble by nature; therin surpassinge moste of thinhabitantes of this greate Globe of the Earthe: wherunto yf exercyse, knowledge, experience & polycie were annexed (wherin forreyners our neighboures, bothe Dutche, Frenche, Spanyshe & Italians do far surmounte & surpasse us) I cannot se, I saye, but yf this great wante in us were supplied, we should then be farre more fearfull & terrible to our fooes, the better able (throughe God's assistance) to defende onr Contrey in all sudden attemptes and invations, and the more readie to revenge injuries receyved upon o^{r}[2] enymies, even at their owne dorres: as by experience of late, we maye se to what excellencie in service many of o^{r} contreymen are growen, bothe by sea & land to their lastinge fame.[3] wherin for that verie few, or none of us can possiblie be ymployed, yet lett us resemble them as shaddowes, and followe them as yt were a farre of, ymytatinge in showe their warlike exercisies: wherbie in tyme thorowe attentyve diligence, we shalbe made more aptt & readie, and the better p'pared whensoever we shalbe called to s^{r}ve o^{r} prince[4] & Contrey: and therin also not unlyke to y^{e} auncient Romanes, who were conquero^{r}s of y^{e} worlde, furthered therein expetiallie by their martiall exercises & trayninges in their yonger yeares, and by the strickt observation of warlike dissiplyne. Lett us therfore (in some measure thoughe not altogether) leave off our ordinarie vayne, unlawfull & unproffitable exercises, w^{ch} besides the losse of tyme that cannott be recovered, & thoffence of God and all goodmen, hathe brought, eyther to miserable wantt & extremity, or ells to that w^{ch} is worst, to shamfull deathe & destruc$\tilde{c}$o$\tilde{n}$, manye towarde youthes our Contreymen, p'per[5] & actyve men of p'son,[6] suche as w^{t} good gov'nm^{t} might not onlie, of them selves have lyved in good estat & condi$\tilde{c}$o$\tilde{n}$,[7] but also have p'ved[8] p'fitable members of this

[9] Nimble. See Prompt. Parv. *in V.*
[1] Minds.
[2] Our.
[3] The writer probably refers to the exploits of Drake, Howard, Raleigh, &c.
[4] Q. Elizabeth. Afterwards called in this document "Princes."
[5] Proper.
[6] Person.
[7] Condition.
[8] Proved.

comonwealthe. But to p'ceede, wayinge the worthynes of this exercyse, w^t^ the small waighte of expeuces we shalbe putto[9] for a whole yeare, w^ch^ is but xl^s^ for a gentleman, & xiii^s^ iiii^d^ for a yomau, who will make stayc herat? or what is this charge in comp'ison of the manifolde sõnes, so lavishlye caste awaye at dice, cardes, tables & suche like daylie, and yet notw^tstandinge we can vaunte & make tryumphe of our losses w^tout care or regarde, pynchinge at one penye well ymployed, but makinge no spare of manye poundes so plunged into that bottomlesse Pytt.

Now lett yt be presupposed, y^t^ upon our humble sutes, by y^e^ sufferance or allowance of the L^s^ of y^e^ Councell, the Lorde Liueteñnte of o^r^ Couutrey & y^e^ favorable furtherance of his L. depnties, we maye be admitted to p'ceede in our ent'prises, (w^tout whose honorable consent we dare[1] not p'sume to assemble) that y^e^ same I saye once obtayned, we shall w^t^in the space of three yeares amounte to y^e^ number of xv^cth^. voluntarie sufficient able men for service (as we t^r^me them) And all those w^t^in the space of three yeares more, so well exersised, trayned & experiensed, as any other Contreymen, in lyke or lesse number whatsoever trayned souldiers in Englande, consideriug that y^e^ charge is pryvat & not publique; yea, & muche better (we dare be bolde to p'snme) then manye of our owne Contreymen, that have bene trayned for y^e^ space of these sixtene yeares past,[2] uuder o^r^ Ordinarie Muster M^rs^,[3] to the Contrey's greate & intollerable charge, some oue exercyse of this fowrthe p'te of our Contrey (Kestiveu I meane) accrewinge to cccc^li^, charges for the trayninge of cccc^th^ men in fower dayes; and yet suche were the moste of theise selected Souldiers, and suche somtymes the preposterous p'cedinge in the action, that manye, or the moste p'te of theise men, wente home as good souldiers as they came, morover yf our fiftene hundreth men, shall not onlye in sixe yeares space, be sufficieutlie trayned (as before) but all the numbers furnyshed w^t^ Capteyues, Liueteñntes and other Officers servicable well dissiplyned & instructed: armed also w^t^ swordes, daggers, targettes, corsslettes, pykes, bowes, arrowes, sculls,[4] muskettes, Calivers, morlions,[5] halberdes, p'tizans[6] & bills, flasques, mowldes,[7] cartages,[8] powder, bullettes & matche, convenyent and p'portionable for suche a number of meu (a sufficient Coronells[9] charge) and all this furnyture, new, stronge, good & well sutted,[1] and fytted for everie man, & that accordinge to their owne choyse aud likinge (w^ch^ undoubt[edlie] is one good pollycie in warr) and yet all the same p'cured & p'vided at our owne private charge, w^t^in the lym̃yttes of our owne Companye, w^t^out taxinge or burdeninge o^r^ Coutrey w^t^ one penye, other then voluntarie they will yealde and bestowe. Yf this maye come to effectt (as afforseide) and as there is hope & greatc liklihoode that yt maye: looke then what differencc you shall fynde in theise comp'isons?[2] for tymc: betwixte vi yeares aud s[ixtene; fo]r number, betwixt cccc^th^ & xv^cth^; for

[9] Shall be put to.

[1] ? darre, or darst, MS., indistinct.

[2] The instructions for general muster issued in 15 Eliz. 1572, but the earliest record of numbers in training bears date 1574, precisely corresponding with this statement.

[3] Masters.

[4] Steel scull-caps.

[5] Morions.

[6] Partizans.

[7] Bullet-moulds.

[8] Cartridges.

[9] Colonel.

[1] Suited.

[2] Comparisons.

furnyture:[3] betwixt the new stronge [brigh]te well fitted and serviceable Armor of the one, and the olde, rustye, thynne, crasie unfytt & unserviceable furnyt[r] of the other, and so muche difference we doubte not but you shall fynde & then see to be approved, in the choyce of the men, in the disposition of their weapons, in their knowledge and martiall use of the same, and in their readie serviceable & skillfull execution, suche as becomethe voluntarie men to have. Suppose then w[t] us, that this our purposed intendm[t] maye have this yssue, what nede shall there be afterward of any musters, vewinge of armor, chargable Trayninges or further charge for service in our Contrey? Seinge this charge wilbe more then ever was ymposed upon us, & this number greater then at any tyme hathe bene requiered, by a thowsande men in this fowerth p'te of the Shier, and consequentlie by MMMM in the whole, yf the residue of our Contrey wilbe as readie to pursew, as we to p'ceede, & to followe us, as we are resolved to gyve good ensample to them.

Butt I feare it will fall out to be verie difficulte for us to bringe to the harvest o[r] harmlesse intentions, yf by any meanes we be never so litle crossed or resisted: consideringe the greate wantes in manye of our Contremen farr above others, beinge never exercised or experienced in any thinge belonginge to martiall dissiplyne, for no contrey that I knowe hathe lesse use daylie, then ours hathe eyther of Bowe, Gunne, or any other warlike weapon; and beinge not enewred,[4] they are growen to a wonderfull sluggishe fearfulnes, in so muche that (as the p'verbe is) it is as easye to drawe a Beare to a stak[?], as to bringe a rude Lincolnshier man w[t]out auctoritye, to theise exercises. so that we muste eyther use all good meanes & pollicies in layinge our Platforme: otherwise we maye be assured, bothe to begyn and ende theise tragicall showes our selves.

Considerac'ons to be had of Tyme, Dayes, & Place.

We muste therefore principallye have Consideracõn, of the tyme of the yeare, of the Dayes appointed for Trayninge, and of the Places where wilbe moste convenient to make our assemblies.

Tyme. thie Springe tyme onlye.

For the Tyme the Springe is the best (in my Judgm[t]), for then the ayer is moste temp'ate,[5] the wether and waies are comonlye faier, and the dayes be then at the longest: so that w[t] us in the Contrey, after Seede tyme and before Harvest is moste convenient.

Dayes. three.

The dayes of our Trayninge woulde be but fower[6] at the moste, espetiallie when our companies are growen to a greate number, for avoydinge of charges, trouble & hinderance of the artificers, laborers and porer sorte: Holydaies therefore be moste mete for o[r] exercyses, and nether the workdaies nor the Sabothes in any wise, yf we p'phane[7] the Lordes daye we shalbe guyltie before God, yf we assemble on y[e] workdaies we shall

[3] Accoutrements. [4] Inured. [5] Temperate.
[6] Four. [7] Profane.

endamage the comoñ state of o^r^ Countrey: the daies y^t^ be thought most mete, be the Mondaye in Easter weke, the first daye of maye, and mondaye or Tewsdaye in Whitsonweeke.

THE PROVITION OF WEAPONS AND ARMOR, & OTHER FURNITURE FOR THE WHOLE NUMBERS, HOW & BY WHAT MEANES, IT MAY BE P'VIDED & P'FECTED.

Forasmuche as we are in good hope, to have our bandes encreased to a Coronells charge as before, & seinge for that number ther is required 450 armed Pikes, 150 Billes, 300 Bowes, & 600 shotte: the p'vition of w^ch^ furnyture wilbe verie costlie & chargable, besides XVII^cu^ Drummes, XVII^cu^ antientes or ensignes, 48 halberdes, 24 muskettes, XV leadinge staves,[8] XV Javelins or halffe pykes, 30 Partizans, II^o^ brave morlions w^t^ pluñes, & two targettes of p'ffe,[9] for the generalls, eighte harqueb'z^t^ on Crookes,[2] VIII^ti^ duble muskettes & twelve chambers, morover two brave & costlye suttes of riche app'ell,[3] for the two Generalls, furnished in all gallant manner, w^t^ Caparisons for their horsses, and furniture for their footmen, all to make a strange, heroyacall[4] & magnifique showe, for to countenance & content the companye, & fullye to Satisfie the beholders, w^t^ admiration, and to enforce them (as yt were) to a gratfull contentm^t^, wherby they wilbe made more readie & willinge at all assaies to advance our enterprises. I wilbe bolde therfore to cast a rate, of supposed charges and disbursm^tes^, and to satisfie & discharge the same, suche yearlie receiptes contributions & cessm^tes^, as moste willinglie & gratfullye wilbe yealded & paied. and wheras I shall sett downe soñe benevolences & yearlie contributions to be had, at thandes,[5] of the comissioners of the peace, of the Cheiffe Constables of Hundredes, and of everie Townshippe w^t^in Kestiven, soñe Captious Reader, maye p'adventure herupon cavill w^t^ us & saye, these youthes p'mised erwhile that they woulde not be burdenous to their Contrey, but loe, how longe dothe this coveñnte contynew? we maye well answere; that this is a benevolence & not a burden, yealded willinglie, & not collected upon comandm^t^ & constrainte, by payinge to us one penye, they save to them selves a Pownde, besides muche labor, travell & daylie charge, wherof we ease them, and also by our martiall exercises, shall not onlie p'cure to ev'ye Kestyven [man] bothe prayse & thankes from all men: but also great securitye to everie one, bothe generallye & p'ticularlye, by reason of this Arminge & trayninge of all their lustye and able men. this answere I hope will satisfie ev'ye reasonable man.

[8] A light kind of javelin or long-handled weapon for the officers.

[9] Proof.

[1] Harquebuses.

[2] Rests to support them in firing. See an account of the rest, and of the *Arquebus à Croc*, Archæologia, vol. xxii, pp. 66, 67, 102.

[3] Apparel.

[4] Heroical.

[5] The hands.

THE RATE OF ALL CHARGES & DISBURSSM^TES, SUCHE AS THE COMPANIE SHALBE BURDENED W^TALL, FOR THE TERME OF SIXE YEARES, W^CH WILBE A SUFFICIENT COMPLEM^T.

Imp^mis for 450 flanders Corsslettes & Pykes at xxvii^s y^e peee	DC^li
Itm̃ for 150 Bills & 150 seulls[6] at xv^d le peee, ii^s vi^d bothe	XX^li
Itm̃ for 300 Bowes furnished, at vi^s. 8^d le peee	C^li
Itm̃ for 600 Calivers furnished, at xx^s le peee	DC^li
Itm̃ for 17 Drummes, at xx^s le Drum	XVII^li
Itm̃ for 2 silke Ensignes, at v^l le peee	X^li
Itm̃ for 15 Ensignes of bowlter, at xxv^s le peee	XVIII^ll
Itm̃ for 48 halberdes fringed & armed, at iv^s le peee	X^li
Itm̃ for 24 muskettes furnished, at xxxv^s le peee	XL^li
Itm̃ for 15 leadinge staves gilte & silke fringd, at 8^s le peee	VI^li
Itm̃ for 15 Javelins, at vi^s 8^d le peee	V^li
Itm̃ for 30 Partizans, at vi^s viii^d le peee	X^li
Itm̃ for 8 harqueb'z on crookes, at x^s le peee	V^li
Itm̃ for 8 duble muskettes, at x^s le peee	V^li
Itm̃ for 12 chambers,[7] at x^s le pece	VI^li
Itm̃ for 2 targettes & 2 morlions, w^t plumes	X^li
Itm̃ for two suttes for the two generalls	L^li
Itm̃ for Caparisons for their horses w^t plumes	XX^li
Itm̃ for two suttes for to furnishe their footmen	X^li
Itm̃ yearlie charges to drumes, fyffes, trumpeters, musitions, fensers & fier M^rs[8] at vi^li xiii^s iv^d le yeare, in sixe yeares	XL^li
Itm̃ for y^e yearlie rent of an house for our armorie at iii^li p. anñ	XVIII^li
Itm̃ for y^e dressinge, trymminge, & kepinge of o^r armo^r yearlie v^l	XXX^li
Itm̃ for Powder for the feilde peees yearlie, v^li in six yeares	XXX^li
Summa.	MDCLX^li

I thought good in this manner to sett downe in p'ticulers, everie thinge, y^t our companye shalbe generallye charged w^t all, that everie one maye see the soñe[9] & help forwardes to the fynall finishinge herof, the w^ch althoughe yt shall seeme to great a charge in soñe mens eyes, beinge thus at large somñed together, yet in truthe, in comp'ison of many vayne & unp'fitable expenses that we willinglye put our selves unto yearlie, this in Respectt therof is nothinge: lett everie man therfore thinke upon his owne p'ticuler charge herin yearlie, & lett this generall soñe lye in Oblivion, so shall yt nether trouble us nor staye us. manye waies also will this generall charge be eased, as one waie for y^t sondrye of our Souldiers, espetiallye the haqueb'ziers, the Bowmen & Billmen, will most willinglie furnishe them selves, because they will have the use & Custodie of their owne weapons, many drummes, Trumpettes & others also will serve w^tout wages, gratfullye, muche wilbe saved also in the three firste yeares of the charges sett downe, and lastlie untill our abilytie will extende, to make our full p'vision of all thinges of they earlie cessm^tes, we maye be bolde to borrowe manye thinges y^t wilbe readilie lent us.

[6] Scull-caps.

[7] A kind of cannon, fitted with separate receptacles for containing the charge, and attached to the breech, after being loaded, by bolts. See representations of chambered guns, Archæol., vol. xxviii., pl. 21.

[8] Fencers, somctimes termed whifflers, to keep the ground at reviews, and fire-workers to make petards, &c.

[9] Sum.

The rate of the yearly Cessm^tes[1] and Contributions.

Imp^mis[2] of 30 priucipall officers xl^s a pece yearlie, in sixe ycares . .	cccxl^li
Itm̃[3] of 15 Captens of huudredes, yearlie xxx^s A pece . ut s' . . .	cxxxv^li
Itm̃ of 15 Lieuten'utes, yearlie xx^s le pece, 15^l	lxxxx^li
Itm̃ of 15 Ensigne bearers at xiii^s iiii^d le p'ce, x^l, in six yeares . . .	lx^li
Itm̃ of 30 Scrgeantes, at x^s le p'ce, xv^l yearlie, in 6 ycares . . .	lxxxx^li
Itm̃ of 60 Corporalls, at vi^s 8^d le p. xx^l in 6 y^rs	cxx^li
Itm̃ of 120 Disners,[4] at iii^s iiii^d le pce xx^l	cxx^li
Itm̃ of ev^rye Comission^r of y^e Peace, y^rlye xx^s, 20 Com'ss' xx^l . . .	cxx^li
Itm̃ of ev^rye Cheiffe constable. 18. y^rlye v^s. iii^l x^s	xxvii^li
Itm̃ of ev^rye Townshippin Kestiven in uumber aboute $\frac{xx}{8}$ Townes, at x^s le Towne one w^t an other, yearlie lxxx^l. iu sixe yeares	cccclxxx^li
Itm̃ all benevolentes, giftes, rewardes, penalties, forfaytures &c that be casuall & uot certen, we valew to xl^l yearlie, in sixe yeares . .	ccxl
	mdcccxxii^li
The yearlie expences after our uumbers be complete will amount to .	cclxxvi^li xiii^s iiii^d
The yearlie recciptes then, maye likwise amouute to the soñe of . .	cccvii^li

Provision for the common Souldiers.

We muste have great regarde & a p'vident carfulnes, even ev^rye one of the seide superiors & officers, to se to the good usage of our comon Souldiers, we muste be familiar, affable, curteise[5] & gentle to ev'ye one of them, we muste comforte them, exhorte them, coñende & praise them in all their accons,[6] thoughe at the first they execute them but meanlie, still anymatinge them to p'ceede & to learne w^t all dilligence to better & supplie their wantes ageinst the next exersy[s]e:[7] we will take order w^t the Townsmen where we shall trayne, (by the Surveyo^r of our Victuells and his deputie,) that a souldier shall not paye above iiii^d for a meale, & yet to farewell; nor in the Towne for his drinke any more then one peny for a full quart of beare or alle; and in the feilde for his drinke not above one peny for a potle, & yet y^e same to be good & holsome beere; everie supper is to be rated at iiii^d & breakfast at iii^d so y^t y^e charges of everie souldier for one nyght & one daye is viii^d and yf he staye y^e seconde night, then vii^d more, or viii^d at y^e moste, payinge nothinge for his bedd: thus, our souldiers, y^t dwell w'in vi miles of the place of thexercyse, shall spende for their charges at ev'ye trayninge but viii^d, and those y^t dwell further of, xv.^d the harqueb'ziers wilbe put to more charges, then other their fellowes, by reason of thexpence of powder, viz. for ev'ye daye of trayninge, vi^d for halffe a lb. of powder, therfore, so muche as maye be, the shott would be selected & chosen in those Townes next adjoyninge to y^e place of exercise, for easinge their charge. Sixe shott wilbe sufficient for a harqueb'zier to discharge in one daye, viz ii^o in the Towne and fower in the feild, w^ch amounteth in all to sixe thowsande & sixe hundreth shott, at i^d le shott, toto xv^li, besides, dagges,[8] pistolls, muskettes & feilde

[1] Assessments. [2] Imprimis. [3] Item.
[4] Disners, or deseners, officers commanding ten men (decem).
[5] Courteous. [6] Aetions. [7] Exercise.
[8] A dag was a kind of pistol, with the stock shaped somewhat like that of a carbine. See Archæologia, xxii, p. 89.

peces. Everye Bowman muste have two or three arrowes fethered at bothe endes, for the skirmoches and battells, and that is his charge; the other sortes Pikes and Bilmen are at no more charge then before: we nede not make a generall assemblie, of all the bandes, at one place, any more then once in the ycare, except by gen^rall consent yt shalbe otherwise determined, neither yet at ev'ye tyme to arme our men, meanes to kepe our armor the better, & to case our men.

The Officers muste be suche, as wilbe paynfull, dilligent & readie to instru[c]t everie one, bothe w^t exhortation & demonstration, the souldiers muste be made flexible & docible[9] by all good meanes, to receyve their instruc̃cons & to execute the same: the manner & order of their trayninge & instruc̃con is here to longe,[1] to muche & to tedious to sett downe in these notes, yt shall therfore be referred to better leysure & other tyme & place of our firste conven̄con, where shalbe sett forthe at full, for ev'ye one to vewe, how we entend to begin and p'ceede.

Place, at some Markett Towne.

As for the Place, at our firste entrance yt is not materiall where yt be, consideringe that our first conven̄con wilbe but slender, not above one hundreth p'sons: but when our cohorttes be encreased to fower or fyve hundred, then we muste have our meetynges at some markett Towne, eyther Grantham or Sleforde, for that theise Townes stande in the harte & midle of Kestiven, & therin be many youthes & muche necessarie furniture for our uses. At the Place of our assemblies, we entend everie morninge before we repaier to the feilde to heare a Sermon, the Preacher wherof beinge before hand prepared to commend that our exercyse, muste above all p'swade us to modest, quyett and peacable behavior, to voluntarye obedience and readie submission to good orders, to avoyed excesse in all thinges, and espetiallye so to behave our selves, that our actions may redownde to the glorie of God, to the readier s'vice of our gratious Prince, to the goode ensample of others, and to make our Contrey more stronge and forcable ageinste all Romishe Rebells: thus we entend to begin & p'ceed.

Civill Pollicyes, for governinge & augmentinge y^e numb.

We will also, after our numbers be encreased, Crave the assistance, counteñince & companye of soñe of the Commissioners & Justices of our Contrey, whose presence wilbe a bridle to those that be obstinate, rashe or unrulie amongst us, and who soeverwill not be obedient in submittinge him selffe to the Orders and lawes approved, shalbe sequestred from our fellowshipp & abandoned o^r companye, untill he reconsile him selffe w^t submission & duble cessm^t.[2] we will under a payne forbid all swearinge, blasphemie, fightinge, brawlinge, & disdaynfull scornfulnes, that suche as be unskillfull amongst us, yonge scholars & novices, maye be admonished w^t gentilnes as a fellowe souldier to reforme them selves: everie Officer teachinge and instructinge those y^t be under ther charge, w^t all affabillytie

[9] Docile. [1] Too long, &c. [2] Double contribution.

& gentilnes, havinge alwaies in mynde y^t^ we be all voluntary men, & not pressed nor constrayned to be under obeysance and comande one of another, otherwise, by y^e^ neglectinge of this gentle pollicye, we shall not onlye stand at a staye w^t^out augmentac̃on of our numbers, but also shall in short tyme have our fellowshipp dissolved and diminished to nothinge: we will utterlye banishe all Papistes from amongst us, & all notorious evill disposed p'sons: we doubte not but so to behave ourselves, in our orderlie, souldierlike dissipline & governm^t^, y^t^ never any outrage shalbe suffered or com̃ytted amongst us, whatsoever we do, shalbe done in an overtt place, before the Comissioners, by their direction & allowance, & before y^e^ facc of all y^e^ contrey: we will w^t^ all reverend regarde forsee, that ev'y one behave him selffe sob'lye and peacablye, in all humble obedience to o^r^ gratious sovereigne, her Ma^tes^ Lawes, magistrates and officers, vowinge & p'testinge generallye & p'ticularlie, y^t^ our spetiall intentes and purposes in theise our ac̃ons[3], is onlye the better to enable our selves, to s^r^ve her Ma^tie^ & our Contrey: and when soever we shalbe ymployed to spende our bloude & our lyves (moste deare to us) in the defence of her highnes Royall p'son, and of her moste godlie & Christian p'cedinges: and he that will not resolve thus w^t^ him selffe, God in mercie soone alter him or ells in Justice confownd him.

For the better upholdinge of this our Platforme, for the furnishinge of o^r^ banddes in tyme, w^t^ drum̃s, Ensignes, armor & weapons convenyent, for payinge of wages & dispatchinge all charges: we will by generall consent, ympose upon everie one A cessm^t^ or yearlie contribution, accordinge to ev'ye mans abillytie & office, viz. of all the principall Officers of the feilde to the number of thirtye, XL^s^ a pece yearlie, of everie Capteyne of one hundred men XXX^s^ yearlie, of everie Lieuteñnte XX^s^, of everie Ensignebearer XIII^s^ IIII^d^, of everie Sergeant X^s^, of everie Corporall VI^li^ VIII^d^, of everie Disner III^s^ IIII^d^. theise ymposisitions (*sic*) to be diminished upon occasion, but never to be augmented, and the same to be payable not above sixe yeares, for in that space we hope fullye to furnishe our selves in moste brave & forcible maner, and after that tyme the charge wilbe small, and yett our furniture wilbe greate & gallant, & suche as in o^r^ Contrey the like was never seene before. we will use all pollicie & good husbondrie[4] in makinge our p'vic̃on, bothe for tyme, place & p'sons (ordinarie meanes to pull downe the prises of all thinges) &, beinge had, we will take order for the good usage & saffe custodie therof w^t^ great regarde, and the same we entende to continewe & leave to our Successors, that shall supplie our places & to our Contrey for ever, w^ch^ we suppose will amounte to y^e^ valew of two thowsande m'kes in the seide sixe yeares. Some poltique (*sic*) meanes muste be used also for the spedye supplie of the wan̄tes that shalbe in o^r^ numbe^rs^ and severall bandes, w^ch^ devise maye not be p'crastinated, yf we entende to atcheive & bringe to som̃e good p'fection theise our ymplottm^tes^[5] in sixe yeares space, seinge we have for everie yeare but three or fower dayes at the most, and those muste be spent rather in exercyse then exhortation: in my opinion therfore yt shalbe best, at our first conven c̃on & assemblie, to appointe for the first yeare, not any generalls,

[3] Actions. [4] Frugality. [5] Schemes.

but two Coronells, for either divition one, theise to have either of them an Auncyent[6] & a drumme, and under either of theise Colonells, shalbe fyve Capteines of hundredes or tenne Centurions in the whole, theise Centurions shall have tenne Lieuteñntes, twentye S'geantes & fortye Corporalls (yf so manye apte & meete men will in that tyme be had for those places) we will have but one S'geant Major for y^e^ martiallinge & trayninge of our small number, one Threasaurer[7] for collection of the Cessm^tes^, one M^r^ of thordinance or lieuteñnte for the Custodie of our p'viĉõn, one Muster M^r^ for callinge the severall banddes & kepinge a Boke of the numbers, one S^r^veyo^r^ of the victuells, for makinge p'vition for the Companye. theise Officers do amounte in number to LXXXXI^on^ p'sons. All theise, and whosoever ells, shalbe at our firste exercises, muste be p'swaded to do their uttermost endevoier, to encrease our numbers daylie, by all goode meanes & plausible p'swations they can use: Everie Centurion or Capten of one hundred muste be tolde, that their bandes muste no otherwise be furnished, then by the p'curm^t^[8] & dilligence of them selves & their under officers, and that when their bandes be encreased to fiftye, then shall they have a drumme delivered, and, upon the accomplishm^t^ of their full number, they shall Receyve their Ensigne or Ancyent, & not before: no man shalbe enforced to s^r^ve under any Capteyne ageinst his will, but I suppose yt to be the best pollicye, to gyve that lib'tie to everie inferior to make choyce of his superior, onlesse the numbers be full & complete before, then he is to make a second choyce: this is the readiest waye in shorte tyme to accomplishe o^r^ number, in my simple Judgm^t^: w^t^ this Cawtion & forwarninge notw^t^-standinge, that none be Receyved to s^r^ve under any Ancyent, but suche as be p'per men of p'son, actyve & delever for shott, & for armed men, suche as be stronge & well p'portioned.

The Division of Weapons in evere Hundred or Centurions Charge, viz.:

Men.	Pykes.	Bylles.	Bowes.	Shotte.
100	30	10	20	40
200	60	20	40	80
300	90	30	60	120
400	120	40	80	160
500	150	50	100	200
600	180	60	120	240
700	210	70	140	280
800	240	80	160	320
900	270	90	180	360
1000	300	100	200	400
1100	330	110	220	440
1200	360	120	240	480
1300	390	130	260	520
1400	420	140	280	560
1500	450	150	300	600

[6] Ensign. [7] Treasurer. [8] Procurement.

Breiffe notes of Trayninge.

As firste to teache everie souldier, to knowe his furniture, bothe armor & weapon, & ev'ye p'te & p'cel therof, by name, then how w^t expedition, on a sudden, to arme him selffe therw^t, & to that ende to have it in a readines, then the use therof everie waye, for the defence of him selffe & thoffence of his enimye, thus knowinge his armor, how to arme him selffe therw^t, & the use therof: he muste then learne his dutie to his Capteyne, to his lieuteñnte in his absence, & to all other y^e inferior Officers; he muste be admonished to followe & not for any p'ell[9] to forsake his Ensigne: he muste have dilligent care to the severall sowndes of y^e Druñe & muste be taughte to knowe them p'fectlie & to distinguishe them: he muste have understandinge of the lawes of the feild, y^t he maye be more apt to obs've them, and knowinge the penalties, more fearfull to transgresse them; he muste knowe what an honor it is to him, to be called to the degre of a souldier, how therbye he is made a Champion for God's Churche, for the state, & for the Comonwealthe: he muste be taughte, the spetiall ornamentes of a souldier, bothe to knowe them & practize them, that is silence, obedience, secretye,(?) sobrietie, hardines, & truthe: he muste then be brought to the feilde & there by demonstracõn & ymitation,[1] bo made readie & p'fectt, to marche forwarde, to Retire backwarde, to dubble the rankes, to redouble them in order, to staye upon the sudden, to stand firmlye, to turne everie waye, to gyve a charge, & retire safflye & to rerecharge the enimye, to assaulte feirslye, to pursue spedilye, to Invade the Enemye, to prease[2] upon him, to compasse him & to fighte under his Ensigne; in skirmoche[3] to marche lustilye, to traversse warelye, to charge spedelie, to discharge surlie,[4] to torne[5] quicklye, to Retyre safflye, to recharge readilye & to do all this boldlye. for to advance his Pike, to Cowche y^e same, to crosse for horsmen, to pushe at footmen, & to tosse the same bravelye. to bende his Bowe, to unsheffe his arrowe, to nocke yt spedilye, to drawe stronglye, to ayme surlye, to lowse sharplie, to strick deadlye. theise, and manye other necessarie poyntes to be observed, muste in tyme & by measure & leasure be learned of our unskillfull Contremen, the w^ch to atcheve & bringe to passe, for my p'te I will do my uttermoste endevoier, accordinge to my small skill & experience, hopinge that some worthie & sufficient souldiers will conjoyne w^t me & my fellowes, to supplye our wantes and to helpe to bringe to soñe good p'fection theise our enterprises, w^ch doubtles wilbe a comendable stratageme.

The Officers nedfull and requisite to be had, aswell for showe, countenancinge and content of the Companye, as for Warlike Dissiplyne.

The better to governe our selves in theise our exersises, we muste nedes have a certen forme or shaddowe of Warlike Dissiplyne, whiche in theise rude notes I will but touche breifflye, Protractinge yt at large to be augmented, when as our numbers be growen to fower or fyve hundred: in

[9] Peril.
[1] Imitation.
[2] Press.
[3] Skirmish.
[4] Surely.
[5] Turn.

the meane time thus muche I sett downe, referringe yt to the reformacõn of others more experienced & considerate.

Forasmuche, as in scarmochinge & ymbattallinge one ageinste another, we muste nedes sever our selves into two Cohortes: yt is necessarie therfor that we shoulde have equall sortes of martiall officers on eyther side. viz.[6]

*	Generalls or Grand Capteines, two	4li
*	Martialls of the feilde, two	4
*	Generalls of the horsmen, two	4
*	Threasaurers, two	4
*	Mrs of the Campe, two	4
		—xxli
*	Coronells generall, two	4
*	Mrs of the munytion, two	4
*	Sergeant Majors, two	4
*	Muster Mrs, two	4
*	Surveyors of the victuells, two	4
		—xxli
*	Corporalls of the feilde, fower	8
*	Clarkes of the Armye, two	4
*	Lieuteñntes of the horse, two	4
*	Provost martialls, two	4
		—xxli
*	Lieuteñntes of thordinance, two	4
*	Under Coronells, fower	8
*	Captens of the garde, two	4
*	Lieuteñntes of the garde, two	4
		—xxli

The Cessm'tes of these fortie principall officers is lxxxli yearlie, in sixe yeares cccc lxxxxli.

*	Standerd bearers for ye gen'alls, two	3li	
*	Cornettes for the horsmen, two	3	
*	Capteynes of hundredes, fiftene	30	10s
†	Lieuten'nts under them, 15	15	
†	Ensigne bearers, 15	10	
†	Sergeantes of bandes, 30	15	
†	Corporalls under them, 60	20	
‡	Drumes for the generalls, 2		
‡	Drommes for the Centurions, 15		
†	Disners, or Desenners, 120	20li	
§	Gunners for ye feilde peces, 4		
§	Armorers for ye munition, 2		
°	Fyer Mrs for fierworkes, 2		
°	Fencers or Swordplaiers, to make roome, 2		
°	Trumpeters, 4, 6, or 8		
°	Sagbuttes & cornettes in fee, one noyse[7]		
°	Hooboyes, in fee, one noyse.		

Inferior Officers yearlie cviiili. xs, in six yeares dcli li.

Places for gentilmen lxxvi; places for yomen ccxxv. Of the garde xlviii halb'des, musketers 24 in all of ye garde lxxii. at iiis ivd le pece, in Ao xii£ lxxii£.—all these paye yearlie cc£ in sixe yeares mcc£. tot'lis mmlx£ all yrlie cccxl£.

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[6] The officers enumerated in this list are classified by distinctive marks, preceding their several designations. This distinction has been retained in printing this document, although the intention is not apparent. They probably referred to some later part of the MS. not preserved.

[7] Band. See Nares' Glossary, *v.* Noise.

Perticuler Rates for vi Yeares.

The yearlie Collections, amountinge to cccl$^{£}$, as we are in good hope yt will growe to no lesse, yf the seide contributions wilbe paied, before Candlem̃s next, 1591, and so yearlie alwaies before the springe, for seven yeares space together, we will upon the Receipte therof precentlye make our p'vicon, accordinge to theise p'ticuler y^{r}lye rates followinge, viz:

R' at Candlem̃s, 1591, ccc^{li} first yeare.—(cccc. men & one garde, *margin.*)	
Wherw^{t} buye ce^{tie} Calivers furnished for xx^{s} le pece, all new & good . .	cc^{li}
Itm̃ eth bowes, so manye sheffes of arrows & cth redd cappes at 8^{s} le furniture	xl^{li}
Itm̃ ccth single pikes, at ii^{s} vi^{d} le pike	xxv^{li}
Itm̃ xxiiii^{or} halberdes, at 4^{s} le pece for y^{e} garde	x^{li}
Itm̃ one silke ensigne for y^{e} generall	vii^{li}
Itm̃ fyve ensignes of bowlter,[8] at xl^{s} p'ce	x^{li}
Itm̃ for fyve leadinge staves	l^{s}
Itm̃ for fyve small Javelins at v^{s}	xxv^{s}
Itm̃ for tenne p'tizans at vi^{s} 8^{d} le pece	iii^{l} vi^{s}8^{d}
Itm̃ for xxiiii^{or} hattes & fethers & so manye redd mandillions,[9] for y^{e} garde, at xx^{s} le p'ce	xxiiii^{li}
for sixe drumes at xx^{s} le pece	vi^{li}
for hattes, fethers & scarffes for y^{e} sixe auncientes at xx^{s} le pece . . .	vi^{li}
for a leadinge staff & Javelin for y^{e} Capten & lieutenm̃t of the garde . . .	xv^{s}
for hattes & fethers for vi drumes	xl^{s}
disburss^{ts} for cc^{lb} of powder at ix^{d} le ℔, vii^{li} 8^{s} iiii^{d} & eariage ob' le ℔ vii^{s} vi^{d}	8^{li}
Allowe for y^{e} dryinge y^{e} seide powder ob' le ℔ y^{t} is vii^{s} vi^{d} & deliver it to y^{e} shott for xii^{d} the pound so gayned xxx^{s}	
charges in buying the seid p'vicon	vi^{li}
Sm̃a	ccc^{li}
R' at Candl's, 1592, ccc^{li}. second yeare.—(dccc. y^{e} generalls & their gardes, xlviii, *margin.*)	
for cc calivers furnished	cc^{li}
for c bowes furnished	xl^{li}
for xxiiii halberdes, xxiiii hattes, fethers & mandillions for y^{e} garde, all grene[1]	xxx^{li}
for 3 auncientes, 3 drumm̃es, 3 leadinge stafs, 3 javelins, vi p'tizans, hattes fethers & scarffes for y^{e} aunciantes, hattes & feth^{r}s for dr̃us[2] . . .	xvii^{li}
furniture for y^{e} gen^{r}alls owne p'sons	l^{li}
for their targettes & morlions	xi^{li}
charges in makinge this p'vicon y^{e} seid viij^{li} R' for powder	8^{li}
Sm̃a	ccc^{li}
R' at Candlem̃s, 1593, ccc^{li}. thirde yeare.—(mcc men, muskettes xxiiii. xl corslettes, *margin.*)	
for c bills, c red mandillions & capps	l^{li}
for c bowes furnished in grene	xl^{li}
for xxiiij muskettes furnished & 24 fethers	xlv^{li}
for c bills furnished w^{t} grene	l^{li}
for c single pikes	xij^{li} x^{s}
for 4 auncientes, 4 drum̃s, 4 lead'g staffes, 4 javelins, 8 p'tizans, hattes, fethers & scarffes as before	xxiiij^{li}
Caparisons for y^{e} generalls horses	xx^{li}
furniture for their pages & footmen	xv^{li}
for lx corsslettes, at xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} le pece	c^{li}
charges in makinge this p'vicon	vi^{li}
charges at y^{e} generall trayninge	xv^{li}
Sm̃a	ccclxxx^{li}

car^{t} [3] xxx^{li} therfore we must buye but xl corslettes.

[8] Probably the same as bowltel, a coarse tissue, according to Mr. Halliwell, possibly because used for making sieves or "bulter-cloths." See Kennett's Glossary, Paroch. Antiqu. under that word.

[9] Coats.

[1] One of the Tudor colours.

[2] *Sic*, Drums, *i. e.* drummers.

[3] *Caret*, 30£. deficient.

R' at Candlem̃s, 1594, cccl^{li}. fowerth yeare.

wherw^{t} buye cth single pykes	xii^{l} x^{s}
ccth calivers furnished	cc^{li}
lx corsslettes	c^{li}
three ancientes, 3 drum̃es, 3 lead' st' & Javelins & vi p'tizans, hatts, fethers & scarffs	xviii^{li}
charges in all	xx^{li}
Sm̃a	cccl^{li}

In the beginnyng of this iiiith yeare y^{e} geu^{r}alls wilbe fully furnished, their gardes lxxii. fur-(nished) dc calivers, ccc bowes, cc Billes, cxx Pikes all fully furnished, capteines lieutn̄tes, Sergentes, aunc̄yentes & drumes, then is there cclxxx single pikes unfurnished, in all about mdcc men

R' at Candlem̃s, 1595, cccl.^{li} fifte yeare.

wherw^{t} buye clxxx. corslettes	ccc^{li}
xxiiii chambers	xvi^{li}
powder for them	iiii^{li}
charges in all	xxx^{li}
Sm̃a	cccl^{li}

R' at Candlem̃s, 1596, ccc'l sixte yearc.

for c. corslettes	clxxx^{li}
for xxiiii. duble muskettes	l^{li}
for powder	v^{li}
for rent for y^{e} Armorie ii^{o} yr^{s}	vi^{li}
for keping y^{e} armor	x^{li}
for wages to trumpettes, drums, fyer M^{rs}, gunn'rs, fenc̄ers, and to musitions &c.	x^{li}
for two Robynettes	xii^{li}
for whelcs & cariage for y^{e} duble muskettes	viii^{li}
powder this ycare	vi^{li}
wages ordinarie	xx^{li}
charges of p'vic̃on	xl^{li}
Sm̃a	cccl^{li}

Thus in sixe ycars have we mdcc men furnished, viz.:

Calivers	nc
Pykes	cccc
Bowes	ccc
Bylles	cc
Halberdes	xlviij
Muskettes	xxiiij
Javelins or Halfe Pykes	xvij
Partizans	xxx
Targettes for Capteynes	xx
Aunncyentes & Drumms	xxxvj
Other Officers furnished	xxx
Toto	mdcc men

How the Captaynes and Officers afforseide shalbe ymployed.

A generalls office.

There shalbe two generalls or grande Capteines, over eyther devition one, Eyther of them shall have the comandm^{t}, leadinge & orderinge of eighte hundreth men at the leaste, under either of them ther wilbe an hundreth and fiftye officers, and sixe hundreth & fiftye comon souldiers: theise havinge place & p'emynence[4] above all shalbe honored & attended accordinglye, they shall have their gen'all drum̃es, & their Standerdes or Ensignes of silke, their collowres shalbe, the one white & grene, signyfy-

[4] Pre-eminence.

inge the pure Virginytye of our Royall Princes,[5] & the p'petuytie of her flowringe Vertues, alwaies grene & florishinge, & daylie in their Vernall encreasinge: thother shalbe whyte & redd, signifyinge the whyte & redd roses the Princelie cognizances of the two dutchies of Yorke & Lancaster, now happilye unyted in her Ma^tie. under w^ch colloures p'stratinge[6] our selves at her highnes feete, in all humble Obedience, we her highnes most faythfull subjecttes, bothe capteines & souldiers, do offer o^r poore s^rvice & to spende o^r lyves in the defence of her Royall p'son, and therfore have we bene bolde, thoughe altogether unworthye, to make choyse of theise coloures, prayinge p'don for our presumption. theise our generalls shall have their Gardes, consistinge of fortie eighte halberders & twentye & fower musketers equallye devided betwixt them, w^t their Capteynes and Lieuteñntes over them: they shalbe gallantlie & ritchlye appointed for the honor of the Companye, they shall reteyne this prehemynence but for two dayes, viz, at two trayninges of their followers, the one pryvat, the other publique: after w^ch others shall succeed in their places.

THE MARTIALLS OFFICE.

The martialls muste not onlye take care & charge of y^e orderinge & martiallinge of all the squadrons, mayne Battles, trowps, wynges, sleves, & forlornhopes, both of y^e horsmen & footmen, in ranges & arraye (for y^e next under y^e grand Capteynes they maye gen'allye controll:) But espetiallye must censure all misdemeanors of all under officers and souldiers, and for grevous defaultes muste sett downe penalties & forfaytures of money, accordinge to o^r Lawes agreed upon for the feilde: wherof he or his p'vost martiall shall gyve notice to y^e Clarke of y^e armye, y^t it may be p^d accordinglye to thandes[7] of y^e Treasaurer.

THE OFFICE OF THE GENERALL OF THE HORSMEN.

The Generalls of the horsmen, be so called, not for y^t we entende to have any horsmen of s'vice in our Companyes, but for this cause espetiallye, for y^t we knowe ther wilbe at all o^r publique or generall Trayninges manye horsmen, bothe gentilmen, s'vingmen & others to the number of fower or fyv hundreth horsmen, who wilbe glad to be ymployed, theise by tho sownde of the Trumpettes attendinge on the generalls & their Lieuteñntes must be called together & marshalled in Troupes & wynges, under their Cornettes or guydons, & placed on eyther side of of (*sic*) the mayne Battle for winges, shall marche w^t the same in goodlie order to augm^t[8] showe, & make the same seeme more terrible & forceable: and afterwardes, severinge them selves from the squadrons, shall in good order fierslye charge the same, to the w^ch ende ev'ry horsman or most of them must be p'swaded to p'vyde[9] a pistoll or dagge, & shall do suche further s'vice as shalbe comanded & appointed. they shall have attendinge on them, two Lieuteñntes, fower Cornettes, & fower Trumpettes, & shalbe assisted by the S^rgeãt majors.

[5] Princess. It is scarcely needful to observe that the colours, to which this symbolical import is here given, were the Tudor livery colours.

[6] Prostrating. [7] The hands. [8] Augment. [9] Provide.

The Threasaurers office.

The Treasurer must not onlie have the Custodie & charge of all our money: but must have the Collection of all annual Contributions, Sessm^tes, benevolences, penalties, gyftes, rewardes or whatsoev' money any waies accreweth to thencrease of o^r comon stocke: and y^e same shall he disbursse & defraye, accordinge to thappoyntm^t of the generall & warlike Councell: he shall paye wages & fees to Armorers, Gunners, fier M^rs, fencers, drumes, Trumpettes, fyffes, sagbuttes, Cornettes & hooboes,[1] &c., & shall yearlie gyve up his accompte: he shalbe assisted by the Clarke of the armye.

The Office of the M^rs of the campe.

The M^rs of the Campe shall have y^e espetiall p'usall,[2] direction & appoyntm^t, of y^e Townes feildes & places, where our assemblies, exercyses & trayninges shalbe: the plottinge & platforminge of o^r encampinges, shall ymp'ke[3] y^e place for execution of o^r exployettes,[4] shall appoynt listes & bowndes for y^e Contrey people, in suche sorte y^t they neither endangere them selves nor trouble us; he muste espetially have regarde y^t y^e stations be large and spatious, y^t ev'ye one may vew at pleasure, & espetiallye y^e Ladies & gentle women, for whom he muste p'vide a skaffolde y^t maye not be annoyed w^t wynde or Sonne. he sha[ll] cause Turkes[5] & m'kes to be sett up, for our musketers, harqueb'ziers & Bowmen, & shall p'form all other thinges app'teyninge to his charge.

The ymployinge of the Officers.

the office of y^e grand coron[ells].

These gentilmen havinge charge of all the footmen in eyther divition, next under the gen^rall Capteines, may comande, aswell the under Coronells, as also all Capteines, lieutenïntes and souldiers, they be therfore appoynted for the ease of the generalls, & be amongst the infanterie as their deputies: theise be as the orators bothe to & for the armye, they muste make all y^e publicke motions, & give gen'all intelligence of all sudden Resolutions, & muste se y^e same put in execution, by the helpe & readie s'vice of the S'geant majors & Corporalls: they muste forsee that everie Regement do p'forme their s'vices appoynted w^t celeritye & silence. they muste examyn the elections of all inferior Officers, and establishe or displace them as they se cause. infynyt lyke s'vices belonge to theise officers, w^ch here for brevytie I will omytt.

The M^rs of the munytion or ordinance.

The m^rs of thordinance are to have y^e charge & Custodie, of all o^r armor, munytion & artillerie, viz. fower hundreth corsslettes furnished, two hundreth Bills, three hundreth Bowes and six hundred calivers likwise

[1] Hautboys.
[2] Perusal?
[3] Imparke, *i.e.*, enclose.
[4] Exploits.
[5] Figures of Turks to be shot at as marks. The image of the Infidel was used in warlike exercises as early as *t.* Edw. III. See Meyrick's Crit. Enqu. vol. i. p. 145. Pluvinel gives a representation of the Saracen Quintain in his Horsemanship, published 1628.

furnished, xxiiij^{or} muskettes, xlviij^{t} halberdes, xxx p'tizans, fiftene halffe pikes, xvi Capteines staves, xx targettes & morlions, two Robinettes, xxiiij duble muskettes, xij harqueb'z on crookes, xxiiij chambers, all our matche, powder & engines for fier workes, the furnt[6] also for y^{e} Generalls, y^{e} Caparisons for their horses, fyve hundred mandillions or souldiers cootes ccc hattes fethers & scarffes, fower guidons,[7] xvij Ensignes, & xvij drum̃es. they or their deputies muste deliver powder to all y^{e} shott on y^{e} trayninge daies, readie dryed, for xij^{d} the pounde. they must also furnishe the gunners for the great shott, & the fier m^{rs} for their fierworkes, w^{t} sufficient powder & matche out of the comon store. they must have two lieuteñntes, two fier maisters, fower gunners, & two Armorers at their comande.

The Sergeant majors.

The Grande Sergeantes above others shoulde be gentlemen selected for their skill & experience, learned & well studied, men of singuler capicytie & memorie, for that, to their office belongeth to appoint y^{e} manner of the marchinge of y^{e} whole Armye, viz. how manye men shall march in a Rancke, how manye of those Rankes in a manyple, how many of those manyples shalbe placed in the Vowarde,[8] how manye for the mayne Batle, and how manye for y^{e} Rerewarde, when & where y^{e} manyples shall staye to be confronted into Squadrons & Caparanconed[9] together; they must be readie & skillfull in formyinge & plattinge[1] of all sortes of Battles for ev'ye occas'on, somtymes appoyntinge y^{e} shott as winges to garde y^{e} Pikes, at other tymes y^{e} pikes must garde the shott from y^{e} violence of y^{e} men at armes or horsmen, y^{e} shott beinge placed w^{t}in y^{e} pikes, must wade thorowe the ranges to gall y^{e} horses & to skirmishe, retyringe to their places. theyse gentlemen must w^{t} great dilligence & travell, martiall, trayne & instruct the whole numbers, beinge assisted by the Corporalls of the feilde.

The muster maisters.

Theise gentlemen, beinge assisted by the clarkes of the Armye, shall by their bokes of y^{e} numbers, (at everie of our generall assemblies) call all the principall Officers by their names, & yf any make defaulte, except there be a sufficient excuse for his absence, he shalbe grevously fyned, then shall they call all the Inferior Officers & lastly——

[Here the MS. ends abruptly, leaving a portion of the page blank.]

[6] *Sic*, ? furniture.
[7] Banners.
[8] Vanward, or advaneed guard.
[9] *Sic*. Caparaçonner. Fr. ?
[1] Plotting.

THE BATTLE OF WINCEBY.

The Battle of Winceby, or, as it is sometimes called, of Horncastle, has obtained less celebrity in the general history of the Great Rebellion, than the importance of its results and the future celebrity of those engaged in it might seem to deserve. Hardly alluded to by Clarendon, whose attention was occupied at the time by the transactions in the West, especially by the siege of Gloucester and the first battle of Newbury, and to whom the names of Cromwell and Fairfax were as yet unimportant,—the date of the day on which it occurred is uncertain, and we are indebted for the minute details, which we possess, to the lively descriptions of a parliamentary chronicler, who, whatever might be his other qualifications, certainly had no want of zealous devotion to the cause which he espoused.

This writer is that same *John Vicars* whose Muse, however inspired, is thus invoked by the author of Hudibras :—

> "Thou that with ale or viler liquors
> Didst inspire Withers, Pryn and Vicars,
> And force them, though it was in spite
> Of nature and their stars, to write."
>
> *Hudibras*, c. i., p. 645.

(a compulsion, alas! to which others before and since have been subjected, perhaps with no better success). The poetical talents, indeed, of our friend Vicars appear to have been by no means remarkable. It is said of him by the annotator on Hudibras, that "He translated Virgil's Æneids into as horrible a travestie in earnest as the French Scarron did in burlesque, and was only outdone in his way by the politic author of Oceana."

But whatever might be his qualifications as a poet, his contemporary chronicle of the stirring events of this period has all the life and reality of an actual record of events which

he had witnessed, and we may take his account of facts, whether we choose or not to adopt his opinions. His account of the battle of Winceby is in the third part of his Parliamentary Chronicle, which he is pleased to entitle "God's ark overtopping the world's waves," and which he professes to publish "for God's high honour, and the great encouragement of all that are zealous for their God, and lovers of their country, by the most unworthy admirer of them, John Vicars." His book is, indeed, no longer confined to the library of the British Museum, or limited to the researches of the antiquary, since much of its contents has been transferred to the pages of Mr. Carlyle, and illustrated by his peculiar style. Some additional facts are, however, to be found in Rushworth's collection, who has published a short account of the battle, given by Lord Widdrington, one of the commanders on the other side, in a letter to the Marquis of Newcastle, which was intercepted by the successful party. A few other scraps of information may yet be gleaned from other sources. And as the most important transaction of those times connected with Lincolnshire history, this battle may deserve some notice on this occasion.

It was in the month of October, of the year 1643, and consequently after the great successes of the Royalist forces in the west of England had been somewhat damped by the result of the siege of Gloucester, but revived again by the doubtful success of the first battle of Newbury, that Cromwell and Fairfax found it necessary to call in the assistance of the Earl of Manchester to oppose the Royal Forces in the county of Lincoln. The Marquis of Newcastle was in command in the north, and had been foiled in his attempt upon Hull, and still more by Sir Thomas Fairfax in the encounter near Wakefield. But these reverses were more than compensated by the defeat of Lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor ; and the prospects of the Royalists were becoming more and more promising in these parts. The castle of Newark, it is well known, was held for the King. Lincoln also was in possession of the Royal Forces, where Sir William, afterwards Lord, Widdrington, of Blankney, was Governor ; and Sir John Henderson was deputed by Newcastle with several troops of horse, and a considerable

body of foot, to oppose the Parliamentary forces, who, as we learn from Vicars, retreated before them from the neighbourhood of Louth, though commanded by Cromwell and Fairfax. The Castle of Bolingbroke also was held for the King, with a considerable garrison, so that almost the whole of the high-grounds and the north of the county was in the possession of the King, whose party would be greatly strengthened by the vast power of the loyal Earls of Lindsey, of whom the father had fallen in his cause at Edgehill, and the son, hitherto Lord Willoughby de Eresby, was still devoted to his side.

On the other hand, the marsh and fen districts appear to have favoured the Parliament, and this cause was aided by the valour and genius of Cromwell, at that time a simple M.P., and Colonel of horse, but who was now just rising into notice. He had signalised himself in the July preceding by the defeat of "the gallant Cavendish," as Hume calls him, in a fight at Lea, near Gainsborough, and we find his name occurring more than once in the constables' accounts of parishes in the district of the Marsh, which have preserved some record of these transactions.

The important town of Boston also seems to have been devoted to the Parliament, and from thence the way was open to Lynn, where the Earl of Manchester was stationed, having not long before received from the Parliament the command of the forces raised by what were called the Associated Counties, viz. Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Huntingdon, to which that of Lincoln was added by the victory we are about to describe.

Such was the situation of the respective parties, when the Earl of Manchester moved with his whole force from Lynn, and by way of Boston towards Bolingbroke, in order to support Cromwell and Fairfax, who would otherwise have been overpowered by the superior forces of Henderson and Lord Widdrington.

But let us hear the way in which Vicars inaugurates his narration of the events that followed; for it is by such means that we can alone hope to understand the motives and prin-

ciples by which men were actuated in the parties they espoused. "And now," says he, "having formerly touched upon the mention of that famous fight and most glorious victory which our good God graciously conferred upon that as virtuous as valiant General, the noble Earl of Manchester, against the Popish and Atheistical forces of Newcastle in Lincolnshire, under their papistical Commander the Lord Widdrington and General Henderson at Horncastle, I shall now, in the next place, give the reader a most exact and full and fair account thereof also in all the material and substantial passages of it; especially for the first advancement of the honour of God, and the great comfort of all that wish the welfare and prosperity of our Jerusalem."

The plan of operations appears to have been to concentrate their forces in the neighbourhood of Bolingbroke Castle, as if with a view to besiege it, but with the intention to draw the Royal Forces together to its relief, and to engage them at the first advantage. It seems to have been on Monday, the 9th of October, according to Vicars, who is corroborated as to the date, by the narrative in Rushworth, though Sir Ingram Hopton's monument, in Horncastle Church, makes the battle to have been fought on the 6th; but the day is unimportant:—it seems, however, to have been on Monday, the 9th of October, that Lord Manchester drew out all his forces from Boston, placing ten companies of foot at Bolingbroke, to observe the Castle, under the command of Major Knight, while Colonel Russell's regiment of infantry was stationed at Stickford, and his own at Stickney; the horse being quartered in the surrounding villages, within eight or ten miles distance.

As the Castle of Bolingbroke is now a heap of ruins, with hardly a vestige of a wall remaining, it is interesting to know what was its condition at that period. And this information is happily supplied us by our Lincolnshire antiquary Holles, at that time M.P. for Grimsby; from whose MSS. in the British Museum, the following description is taken. He says:[1] "As for the frame of the building, it lyeth in a square,

[1] Harl. MS., 6829.

the area within the walls contayning about an acre and an half: the building is very uniform. It hath four strong forts or ramparts, wherein are many rooms or lodgings; the passage from one to another lying upon the walls, which are embattled about. There be likewise two watch-towers all covered with lead. If all the rooms in it were repayred and furnished (as it seems in former times hath been) it were capable to receive a very great prince, with all his train. The entrance very stately, over a faire drawbridge. The gatehouse a very uniform and strong building: materials sandstone. There be certain rooms within the Castle (built by Queen Elizabeth, of freestone) amongst which is a fayre great chamber, with other lodgings. In a room in one of the Towers of the Castle, they usually kept their audit once by the year, for the whole Dutchy of Lancaster, having been the prime seat thereof, where all the records for the whole country are kept. The Constable of the Castle is Sir William Mounson, Lord Castlemayne."

Such, then, was the state of Bolingbroke Castle, when, on this same Monday evening, it was summoned in the name of the Earl of Manchester, to which summons this answer was returned, that "bugbear words must not win Castle, nor should make them quit the place;" on which some approaches were begun with the intention next day to break open the church, which stood near, and mount a mortar on the church-tower, and, as Vicars expresses it, "thence to fire the Castle." The next day some shots were fired from the Castle, and a few of the besiegers killed and wounded. But news soon arrived of more important work in hand. The Royalists had drawn out all their forces from Lincoln, Newark, and Gainsborough, and were advancing to give them battle. Lord Manchester rode that afternoon, Tuesday, to Kirkby, a village adjoining to Bolingbroke, where he was met by Lord Willoughby; Sir Thomas Fairfax being stationed at Horncastle, with his advanced guard at Edlington, about two miles further towards Lincoln. This Lord Willoughby was Lord Willoughby of Parham, whose seat was at Knaith, near Gate Burton. He espoused an opposite side to that taken by the Lindseys, and was husband of the Lady whose

imaginary journal of these times has been published a few years ago.

Here a message was received from Fairfax of an alarm having been given in some of his quarters, indicating the approach of the King's troops; but as the intelligence was as yet uncertain, Lord Manchester determined to call in all his forces, appointing Horncastle as the *rendezvous*, with the intention to make it his own head-quarters. On his way thither, however, he received fresh intelligence that the Royalists had fallen upon the advanced posts of Fairfax, and were making towards Horncastle. He advanced sufficiently near to see his outposts driven in, and then issued fresh orders, appointing Kirkby and Bolingbroke for the point of union, instead of Horncastle. This caused some confusion, as many of the troops who had received the first summons, and not the second, came to Horncastle, and found it in possession of the enemy.

One instance of this, which is given by Vicars, is so circumstantial that it is worth relating. Three troops of the rebel horse were at Thimbleby, to the S.W. of Horncastle, under Captain Johnson, Captain Samuel Moody, and Captain Player, and were there surprised in their quarters. They had to break through two bodies of horse, of one thousand each, as they affirmed, which they did by a bold stratagem; and then advancing towards Horncastle, where they expected to find the Earl of Manchester with his army, were still more surprised to encounter another body of the King's troops. They pretended to be of their party till they had passed them, when they charged back upon them, and so drew towards Horncastle. But here they were again disappointed at finding the town barricaded against them, by carts and timber, which the towns-people had collected at the entrance; though it does not well appear whether this act was hostile towards their party, or intended against the King's troops. They succeeded, however, in joining the main body; "and all that night," says Vicars, "we were drawing our horse to the appointed *rendezvous*"—(it will be observed that the infantry were already stationed at and near Bolingbroke)—"and the next morning, being Wednesday, my Lord gave

order that the whole force, both horse and foot, should be drawn up to Bolingbroke Hill, whence he would expect the enemy, being the only convenient ground to fight with him." But he adds, that Colonel Cromwell was no ways satisfied that we should fight, our horse being extremely weary with the hard duty two or three days together.

It might be expected that some vestige would remain of a traditional record of this eventful night. These vestiges are slight; but there was a few years ago, a gate across the high road from Tetford to Horncastle, where Mr. Fardell's lodge, at Holbeck, now stands, which was called *clap* gate, and the tradition was, that it was so called by the country people ever after, in recollection of the eager interest with which they had listened to the *clapping* of this gate, all night, as successive troopers passed towards the *rendezvous*. On the hill beyond Tetford was an ancient Roman encampment, in the parish of South Ormsby, where the story goes, that some troops passed the night, while another watch is said to have been kept on an opposite hill; on which spot, an old man has told me, that he has picked up bits of broken pipes and burnt bricks, such as soldiers would leave around a fire. In a house in the same parish, it is reported that Cromwell slept, which is not very probable, though some officers may have done so, or he himself, perhaps, some nights before. It is less improbable, as is told by the same informant, now an old man, that he has spoken with a man whose father had told him that he remembered a man who had sat up all night casting bullets, at the same house.

But to come to the fight itself. The Castle of Bolingbroke was situated in one of those deep recesses of the plain as it descends into the fen country, formed by the withdrawal of a line of high sandstone hills, which here runs along to the south of the escarpment of the chalk.

It was necessary, therefore, to the Parliament army, to gain a higher ground, which was afforded by the heights above the Castle, where they had the double advantage of expecting the arrival of their enemy, if he should advance by the plain, by way of Scrivelsby and Revesby, from Horncastle, or of choosing their own ground to fight, if he should attack them

by the upland side. Henderson and his forces took the latter course, which would lead them by way of High Toynton and Scrafield, towards Winceby. This little village stands on some of the highest ground in the country, which is intersected on the north by one of those deep ravines which occur in the sandstone rock, and slopes down on the south gradually towards the plain, so that he had the ravine on his left, as he advanced. The place still bears evidence of the ravages of that day's work; the church appears to have been burnt, and to have been covered in the rudest way with a roof of thatch, as it still remains; and of the former village, the vestiges only exist. The King's forces appear to have proceeded a little beyond the village when they encountered the advanced guard of the enemy's horse, who had moved about two miles forward from their position.

With regard to the numbers on either side, it is stated by Vicars that the Royalist army had seventy-four colours of horse and twenty-one colours of grenadiers in the field, in all ninety-four colours, while his own side had not more than half so many colours of horse and dragoons; but he adds, "indeed I believe we had so many men, besides our foot, which indeed could not be drawn up till very late." That is to say, they had as many horse in number, though not so many companies, owing, probably, to the way in which the gentlemen on the King's side ranged the few men whom they could raise under their own banners. That the force on either side was very considerable, is evident; but we have probably now no means by which to ascertain its amount.

It is stated by Vicars, that neither party expected to meet their opponents as they did. From which it may be inferred, that the royal army having had intelligence that the enemy was in position on Bolingbroke-hill, probably near the small village of Hareby, expected to find them there, whereas Cromwell with the cavalry had advanced about two miles towards them, perhaps without certain information of the time of their approach. But this arrangement had this advantage for him, that the King's troops had to encounter an enemy whom they were not immediately prepared to meet, and on ground which was, at least on one side, unfavourable for cavalry,

from the ravine to the north, and which did not give room for the horse to retire without obstructing the line of the infantry, as actually happened; whereas, it was Cromwell's object to engage them without giving them time to form, or leaving them space to manœuvre. And this view of the matter is confirmed by Lord Widdrington's letter, who says, that the ground the enemy had chosen would not admit of more than three divisions to charge at once. It seems, therefore, that however unwilling Cromwell may have been to risk a battle until his horses were refreshed, yet, when it was decided to fight, he did not fail, with his accustomed sagacity, to avail himself of every advantage. "It was about twelve o'clock," says Vicars, "ere our horse and dragoons were drawn up; after that, we reached a little nearer the enemy, and then we began to descry him by little and little coming towards us. Until this time we did not know we should fight, but so soon as our men had knowledge of the enemy's coming, they were very full of joy and resolution, thinking it a great mercy that they should now fight with him." The forlorn hope was led by Quartermaster-General Vermeyden, with five troops, supported by Cromwell, who commanded the van, and was seconded by Fairfax. The word was, on the side of the King, "Cavendish," to signify their resolution to avenge the death of Colonel Cavendish, who had been slain in the fight at Lea, near Gainsborough, in the July preceding. On the side of the Parliament, it is stated by Vicars that the word was "Religion." But in Rushworth's Collections it is said to have been "Truth and Peace." The royal cavalry were in three divisions, two being Sir William Saville's, and the third Sir John Henderson's. It was this last which had the left wing and was engaged with Cromwell. Each side drew up their "dragooners" in front, who gave the first charge, and then the regular horse engaged; those of the Parliament singing psalms as they advanced to the shock.

Opposed immediately to Cromwell was the gallant Sir Ingram Hopton, and the fight between these two was, for a short time, bravely contested. Cromwell charged home with his horse, as soon as the front ranks, or dragooners, had fired the first volley, but he was received with such brave resolution,

that he encountered a second volley within pistol shot. His horse was killed under him, and he was never perhaps in more imminent danger; for he fell under his horse, and, as he rose to his feet, he was knocked down again by Sir Ingram Hopton, who, as we are told on his monument, attempted to take him prisoner. But the fortune of the day soon turned; Hopton received his death-wound in this attempt, and Cromwell mounted a trooper's horse and was reserved for another and more conspicuous,—shall we say, for a nobler or happier fate?

It was now that the disadvantage of the ground, or else of the way in which the King's forces had advanced, was fatally exhibited. The fight had lasted about half an hour, and the left wing, where Hopton was, had put the enemy in some confusion, when the right and centre, being Saville's horse, were seized, as Widdrington affirms, with a panic, and falling back with broken ranks on their main body, who should have seconded them, put them also into disorder. Cromwell was not the man to give them time to recover it; he was upon them with his horse, who, as Vicars says, "fiercely charged within them all." The dragooners, who seem to have dismounted to discharge their matchlocks, were left behind and taken prisoners; the infantry, already thrown into confusion by the retreating cavalry, retreated with them, and it soon became a rout of the most disastrous kind. The pursuit was continued for five or six miles, "all the way being strewed with broken arms, dead men and horses."

The tradition of the country has preserved one record of this fatal flight, which, in conjunction with the account given by Vicars, is too consistent and circumstantial to be omitted. The country being then uninclosed, the only boundaries were those of parishes, which were divided by hedges, having gates upon the high-way where the boundary crossed a road. At the boundary of the parishes of Winceby and Scrafield, near the bottom of a slight descent on the way to Horncastle, there stood a gate, which opened towards the scene of battle, in a corner formed by an angle of the fence. The flying horsemen pressing in multitudes against this gate, it became impossible to open it; the enemy pressed upon them from behind,

and here such numbers were cut to pieces, that this lane obtained the name of *Slash-lane*, which it has preserved to the present hour.

The victory was indeed most complete. The Castle of Bolingbroke immediately surrendered, or rather was deserted, for two hundred horses were found there, their riders having fled. Besides Sir Ingram Hopton, Sir George Bowles, probably Bolle, of the family of Thorpe Hall, and Colonel Agnes (or Agnew?), were among the slain. It is said by Vicars, that two thousand horses were taken, a thousand prisoners, and as many killed, on the royal side; and, though it is probable that these numbers are greatly exaggerated, it is certain that the rout was so complete that no considerable body of the vanquished side was to be found together. Thirty-two standards, out of ninety-four, were taken, and to complete the success, a very small number, indeed, of the Parliament army was killed, and but a single officer. On their side it was entirely an affair of cavalry, for their foot did not come up till the battle was won; and it seems to have been owing to great neglect on the part of the royal commander, that his army should have advanced in such a way as that it should be possible for a charge of cavalry to drive his own horse pell mell upon his foot, and put them all into confusion. Either this was so, or else the minds of the infantry were by no means well affected to the cause, of which there is some indication in Vicars's narrative of the excuses which the prisoners made for themselves afterwards: to this it may be added, that some of their arms appear to have been nothing else than scythes at the end of poles, a number of which were placed as memorials in Horncastle Church, where a few of them may still be seen.

The loss of all Lincolnshire to the royal cause was the consequence of this defeat. The Earl of Manchester soon after advanced to Lincoln, but his exploits there shall be told by Vicars himself:—"About the 24th October the most noble and virtuous Earl of Manchester, whom the Lord raised up (and so forth) in pursuance of his late victory at Horncastle, went on most courageously to the City of Lincoln, and upon the summoning thereof it was soon surrendered to him.

Wherein he found and forced to be left, in the City Close, and Minster of Lincoln, arms for at least two thousand five hundred men, twenty-eight or thirty colours, three pieces of ordnance, and great store of ammunition : the cormorants or cavalerian officers having leave to depart on horseback with their swords, the common soldiers with only sticks." They retired first to Gainsborough, but this also was soon abandoned, and so they retreated to Newark.

Here we take leave of the pious Vicars, for it suited not his purpose to relate what else befel when his "noble and virtuous" Earl possessed himself of this ancient City. This was in the year 1643, and it was but two years before, that, happily for the cause of history and truth, Sir William Dugdale and Dr. Sanderson, afterwards the famous bishop of this see, had inspected and copied the monuments in the Minster. At that time, every window appears to have preserved its rich stained glass, the monuments were entire with their brasses and sepulchral effigies. The long line of our bishops, the ancestors of our nobility and gentry, here reposed in peace, with the heart of the beloved Queen Eleanor, and the wife and daughter of John of Gaunt. Let it be for ever remembered, that it was not by the Reformation or its agents that these monuments were destroyed, or these churches defaced and desecrated. It was the same fanatic spirit which destroyed the Church of the Reformation, and subverted the monuments of its Temples. They were the soldiers who advanced to Winceby fight with the praises of God in their mouths, who thought they did God service in destroying and desecrating our glorious Minster and making it a stable for their horses. Nor was this confined to the Minster alone: we possess indisputable evidence in the extant MSS. of Holles, that up to this period the monuments and the stained glass remained entire in all the Parish Churches in the County ; for he made notes of them all, from personal inspection, but a year or two before the war broke out. We know, but too well, the mutilated state in which its conclusion left them.

The Register of the Parish of Winceby has preserved no records whatever of burials within the year in which the battle

occurred; its victims met a soldier's grave, and died, for the most part, unrecorded. But there exists one[2] interesting memorial in the Church of Horncastle, being a monumental hatchment to the memory of Sir Ingram Hopton. The inscription is as follows :—

Here lieth the worthy
and memorable K^t^ Sir Ingram
Hopton, who paid his debt
to nature and duty to his King
and Country in the at-
tempt of seizing the Arch-rebel
in the bloody skirmish near
Wineeby, October y^e^ 6, A.D.
1643.

Nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuit tenente
Cæsare terras.

The above on the hatchment, and below it—

Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ
Celata virtus.

He was the brother of the celebrated Sir Ralph Hopton, who, for his gallant conduct in the West of England in this same year, had been made a Peer by the King. They were nephews of Arthur Hopton, mentioned by Anthony Wood as a prodigy of learning, and grandsons of Sir Arthur Hopton, Knight of the Bath, of Wytham, in Somersetshire, by Rachael daughter of Edward Hall, of Gretford, in Lincolnshire. It was, perhaps, owing to this connexion that the younger son had a command in this county.

This is not the place to discuss the merits of either party; each had their own principles for which they manfully contended, and it becomes us rather to be thankful, as well we may, to the good Providence which has kept us almost exempt from civil strife now for two hundred years. But if we should be called upon to sympathise with either side, not on the ground of their religion, or even of their principles in general, but merely because their opinions led them to be

[2] There is also another name connected with this fight, which though at that time unknown to fame, has since acquired an undying celebrity. Among the slain on the side of the King was a Lincolnshire gentleman of the name of Hallam, the immediate ancestor of the Historian of the Middle Ages.

energetic and, as the phrase is, real in the business they took in hand, it may, perhaps, be contended that the cause which enlisted on its side the meek wisdom of such men as Falkland, and the chivalrous virtue of such as both the Hoptons, must have supplied principles not less real, and must have formed characters not less true or less devoted, than such historians as Vicars, or even such generals as Cromwell.

F. C. Massingberd.

MEMORIALS OF SIR EDWARD LAKE,

CHANCELLOR OF LINCOLN, RELATIVE TO HIS LOYAL SERVICES, AND INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES I., AFTER THE BATTLE OF EDGE-HILL.

From Original Evidences.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. SAMUEL BLOIS TURNER, M.A., F.S.A.

Sir Edward Lake was the eldest son of Richard Lake, Esq., of Erby, in the county of Lincoln, by Anne, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Edward Wardell, Esq., of Realby, in the same county. From an early period the family were seated at Normanton, in the county of York, and resided on the estates which passed into the Lake family by the marriage of John Lake to Jeannett, daughter and heiress of William Cayley, Esq., of Normanton.

Sir Edward Lake embraced the profession of the law, and became Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln.

From a love of his sovereign, and full conviction of the justness of his cause, Dr. Lake laying aside the gown, took up the sword, and followed his royal master to the battle of Edge-hill. In this engagement he received sixteen wounds; and having lost the use of his left hand by a shot, he placed his horse's bridle between his teeth, and held out the combat, fighting with his sword in his right hand, till the armies parted by the coming of night. The friendly and affectionate part taken by the amiable and unfortunate monarch, in the concerns of this loyal subject, is set forth in an original MS. in Sir Edward Lake's own handwriting, of which the following is a copy :—

"After I had made my escape from my imprisonment at Mr. Bents at Corsby, where I was kept seven weeks after the battle at Edge-hill, I went to Bangor in Caernarvonshire,

in Christmas, 1642; there I writ to Dr. Steward,[1] the Clerk of the Closet, at Oxford, certifying in what condition I was, and of the hurts I received at Edge-hill, and he sent me back an answer, desiring me to send up the certificate thereof, under the surgeon's hand, which afterwards I did, under the hands of Mr. John Angel, the physician, and Mr. Edward Loffman, the surgeon, both of Leicester, who were employed upon my cure. The next year, about a fortnight after Michaelmas, I went out of Wales towards Oxford, where I came about the 20th of October, 1643: Dr. Steward wished me not to come into the King's presence till the 23rd day of that month, the anniversary day of Edge-hill, which he, the said King, intended to keep solemnly, with public thanksgiving for the victory on that day; and upon that day, a little before dinner, in the presence-chamber at Christ Church, I kissed his Majesty's hand, Dr. Steward being with me, who said to his Majesty, as I was going to kiss his hand,—'Sir, this day twelve-months, the Doctor was in another case,' (Dr. Steward having formerly, as he told me, showed his Majesty that certificate of my hurts, received at the battle of Edge-hill). His Majesty, looking upon me, said, 'It is true you lost a great deal of blood for me that day, and I shall not forget it, but you shall be remembered for it both by way of armory and *otherwise*.' Then looking upon Dr. Steward and others, standing by, said, 'For a lawyer, a professed lawyer, to throw off his gown, and fight so heartily for me, I must needs think very well of it.' I humbly thanked his Majesty for his gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours to serve him, and praised God for preserving me for further service to his Majesty, to the best of my power, and according to my bounden duties. 'And, Doctor, (said the King, bending his head a little towards me) I have reason to believe it;' and so went into the privy-chamber.

"Above two months after, his Majesty sent me to Worcester,

[1] Richard Steuart was born at Pateshull, Northampton. He was Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, 1613; Prebendary of Worcester, 1628; Prebendary of Salisbury, 1629; Dean of Chichester, 1634; a Clerk of the Closet; Prebendary of Westminster, 1638; Provost of Eton, 1640; Dean of St. Paul's, 1641; Dean of Westminster, 1644. He died at Paris, Nov. 14, 1651, aged 68, and lies buried at St. Germains. —*Granger*, vol. ii., p. 348.

then garrisoned by Sir Gilbert Gerard, the King's governor there, to whom his Majesty writ: which letter signified to him the loss of my estate in England and Ireland, by the rebellion, and sixteen wounds which I received at the battle of Edge-hill. With this letter, about the beginning of Christmas, I went down to Worcester, and taking my leave of Dr. Steward, he (whether his Majesty had when he signed that letter or at any other time spoken to him thereof, I know not, but most probably he had,) asked me, whether *I* had drawn up that note, touching an addition in armory, which the King said he would give me, when I kissed hands on the anniversary day of Edge-hill. I told him I had done nothing therein. He bade me advise with some herald thereupon, and draw up a note, to that purpose, for the King to sign, and to leave it with him.

"I did thereupon advise with Sir William Le Neve, but did not acquaint him with the King's word touching armory, and after I had talked with him, I drew up such a note for his Majesty's signature, mentioning only that coat of augmentation (without any mention of one of the lions of England,) and the crest. This note I left with Dr. Steward, and the next summer, his Majesty coming to Worcester, and Dr. Steward with him, the Doctor gave me this docquet signed by his Majesty, and attested by the Doctor, touching the baronetship and arms.[2]

The Docquet copied from Sir Edward Lake's own handwriting.

Signed, CHARLES REX.

WHEREAS, our Trusty and well-beloved Edward Lake, Dr. of Laws, and Advocate General for our Kingdom of Ireland, in all causes Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Maritime; and by the . . . . . with the Loss of his Estate and Employment, and also in England, more especially at the Battle of Edge-hill, receiving sixteen Wounds, to the extreme danger of his Life ever since,—being deprived of his estate here, we cannot

[2] This interesting document was printed by Collins, in the "English Baronetage" (vol. iv. p. 134, ed. 1741), but the text there given varies considerably from that of the Docquet, as above, from Sir Edward's own writing.

but look upon him as a subject well deserving of us; and whom, when God shall enable us, we intend to repair in his Estate, and otherwise to reward him; and in the mean time, we do hereby create him a Baronet, and do give him the making of a Baronet, *not* doubting that he will recommend any Person for that dignity, but such a one, who for his Condition and Quality, shall be fit for the same; and for his further Encouragement, and as a Mark of our Especial Favour towards him, Whereas in that Battle of Edge-hill, he received sixteen Wounds, and his left Arm being by a Shot wounded, he was disabled, he held his Bridle in his Teeth, fighting with his right Hand; Therefore we do hereby give him for a Coat of Augmentation, to be borne before his own, in a Field Gules, a right Arm, arm'd, carrying upon a Sword a Banner Argent, charged with a Cross, betwixt sixteen Shields, four in each Quarter . . . . . of the First, and in the . . . . Point, one of our own Lions of England; and for a Crest to the same Coat of Augmentation, a Chevalier in a fighting Posture, his left Arm hanging down Useless, and holding a Bridle in his Teeth; his Scarf Red, his Sword and Horse Cruentated: To have and to hold the said Dignity of a Baronet to the said Edward Lake, and the Heirs Male of his Body begotten, or to be begotten, for ever, and for want of such Heirs Male, then, to the Heirs Male of the same Edward for ever, and to have and to hold the same Coat of Augmentation with the Crest aforesaid, to him the said Edward and his Heirs, and all descending from him and them for ever; all this to be put in form into his Patent.

Given at our Court at Oxford the . . . Day of December in the Year, 1643.[3]

To all the Officers and Ministers, whomsoever, whom under these Presents shall any ways concern.

"Of the addition of one of the lions of England in the coat of augmentation, (in which, the eight points, four in each

[3] In the copy, as given by Collins, the date is thus stated,—The 30th of December, the 19th year of our reign.

quarter, are memorial of the sixteen wounds he received; the lion of England being placed in the centre of the standard, in the additional crest,) and besides, to have the nomination of a baronet, and to be a baronet myself, being altogether beyond my expectation, I asked the Doctor the reason thereof. He told me, that presently on my going to Worcester from Oxford, he showed his Majesty that note for the coat of augmentation which I left with him; his Majesty read it, and said, 'I deserved more, and should have more; I should have one of his own lions too, and I should have the making of a baronet, and that I should be a baronet myself;' and his Majesty himself, with his own hand, interlined some words touching the bearing of that lion, and for the nomination of a baronet, and the creation of me to be a baronet, and bad the Doctor bring it to him, written more at large; whereupon the Doctor, within a day or two after, brought it written, as it is here, to his Majesty, which he signed, and said to him, 'Doctor, you shall be secretary for this business; set your hand to it, and witness my signature, and tell Dr. Lake, that he may keep this awhile by him, and not take out the patent, till I shall better provide for him;' and the same day, at Worcester, as before, when Dr. Steward had told me this, which was at the Lord Bishop's Palace at Worcester, I went with him into the presence, and there kissed his Majesty's hand, who said to me thus,—'The Doctor there (looking at Dr. Steward) I suppose, has told you my mind.' I said, 'Yes, sir,' and most humbly I thanked his Majesty for his exceeding favours to me. Then his Majesty being, as it seemed, in haste upon business, went out of the presence; and as he was going, looked back towards me, and beckoned to me, and I made my address to him, who said thus to me, 'Doctor, if you will, you may keep that awhile by you, (meaning the aforesaid docquet) and not take out the patent, till I shall *better* provide for you, which I hope I shall do ere long,' and so he went away, and I kept this by me as thou seest."

Sir Edward Lake married Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Simon Bibye, Esq., of Buckden, Huntingdon-

shire, and appears to have resided at Bishop's Wooton, in the county of Lincoln. On his dying without issue, in 1674, the property fell to his brother, Thomas, from whom it passed to his son Thomas, who was at the bar, and a member of the Middle Temple. Notwithstanding the above mentioned docquet, the brother and nephew seem to have suffered the matter to lie dormant. But, in 1711, soon after the death of the last mentioned Thomas Bibye Lake, his son (it is presumed) laid the docquet before the Earl of Oxford, who stated that, through the great hurry of affairs the grant was lost. However, her Majesty Queen Anne, being well satisfied of the services of Sir Edward Lake, made Bibye Lake a grant by letters patent, dated 17th October, 1711, though with precedency only from the date thereof.

Sir Edward Lake was buried in the Cathedral at Lincoln, and in one of the chapels on the south side of the choir, known as Bishop Russell's chantry, are still to be seen the remains of his monument, exhibiting his arms, as follows :

Quarterly, 1st, for a Coat of Augmentation, gules, a dexter arm embowed, in armour, issuing from the sinister side of the shield, holding in the hand a sword erect, all proper; thereto affixed a banner argent, charged with a cross between sixteen escutcheons of the first; on the cross a lion passant, guardant, or.

2nd. Sable, on a bend between six crosses crosslet, argent, a mullet for difference. *Lake.*

3rd. Quarterly, argent and sable, on a bend, gules, three mullets of the first. *Cayley.*

4th. Argent, a chevron between three lions' heads couped, sable. On a chief vert as many bezants. *Wardell.*

Crests.—1st. A chevalier in complete armour, on a horse courant argent, bridle and trappings all proper, in the dexter hand a sword, embrued gules, holding the bridle in his mouth, the sinister arm hanging down useless. Round his body a scarf in bend of the last.

2nd. A sea-horse's head argent, pinned or, gorged with three bars gules.

All inquiries have been in vain in the endeavour to ascertain at what period, or for what cause, the removal and destruction of the memorial of Sir Edward Lake was permitted. Mr. Willson, who has been many years engaged in the careful investigation of all details connected with the Minster and its monumental antiquities, supposes that this

reckless act of desecration may have taken place about 1727, when the arch near the western end of the Minster was built,—subsequently removed by Essex. He has been inclined to think it probable that the memorial of Sir Edward Lake occupied a portion of the nave near the western extremity, and adjoining the Consistory Court, in which Sir Edward had presided, and wherein a scutcheon of his arms still remains. He was the Bishop's Chancellor, an office distinct from that of the Chancellor of the Cathedral.

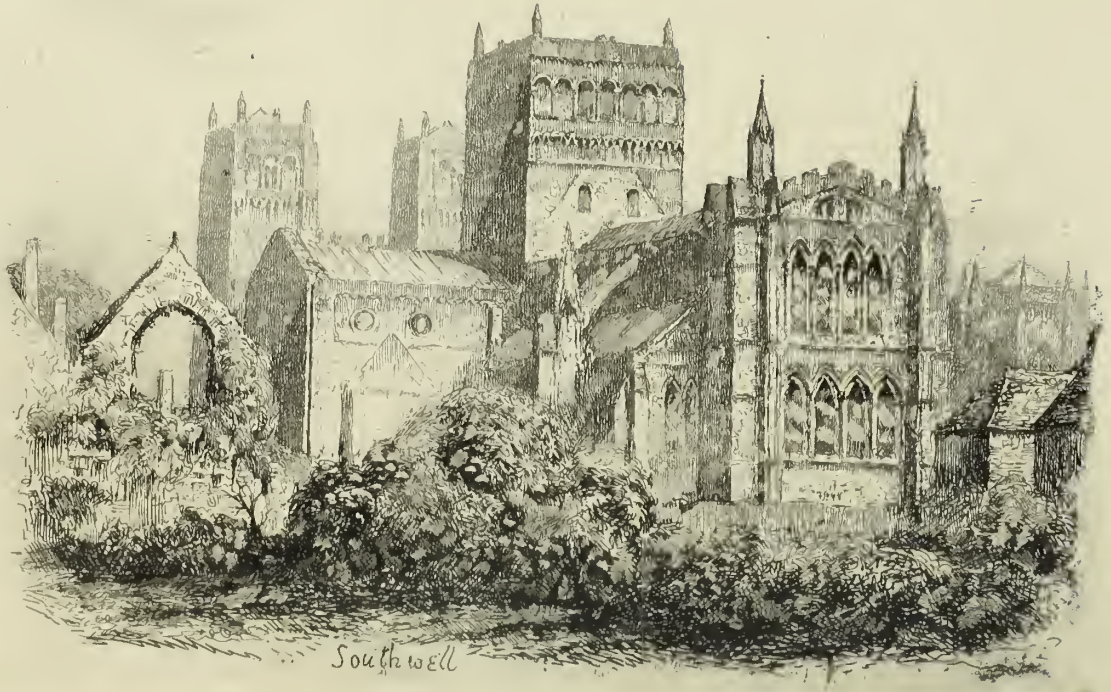
To this monument was formerly attached a Latin inscription, which has not been given by Browne Willis in his Survey of the Cathedral, published in 1730, nor is it found in any work relating to that structure and its sepulchral memorials. It will, therefore, not appear inappropriate to give here a copy of an inscription of no slight local interest, in connexion with the history of this loyal gentleman of the county of Lincoln :

Depositum D. Edri Lake, de Norton Episc. in Agro Lincoln. Bart^i^ L.L.D. Dioces. Linc. Cancellar. Regiæ Majestat. p. R^no^ suo Hiberniæ Advocati General. ex antiqua familia ejusdem Cognomin. Normantoniæ juxta Pontefract, in Agro Eboracensi, hic subtus jacet. Qui Deo, Eccli'æ, Regi, et Patriæ suæ, Pacis et Belli tempore, fideliter inservijt. Honor inde adeptum Cristæ & Insignior. Augmentatio honoraria demonstrat. Ad Annum Ætat. sue . . . p'vectus . . . Die . . . Anno a Partu Virgineo 16 . . . Animam Deo reddidit. In Uxor. habuit hic juxta contumulatam Annam Filiam Natu maximam & Cohæredem Simon. Bibye, Armigeri, Fœminam lectissimam, pijssimam, Fortunæ Conjugalis, Temporibus durissimis Comitem, Particípem patientem, constantem, fidelem maxime.

Un Dieu, un Roy, un Cœur.

Patruo suo charissimo Thomas Lake posuit.

Thomas Lake, nephew and heir of Sir Edward, who erected this monument to his memory, was a barrister of the Middle Temple, and, dying in 1711, was buried in the Temple Church. His monument, originally near the north corner of the middle east window, has been removed during recent alterations, and may now be seen in the triforium. Collins gives the inscription to his memory. It may deserve notice that in the coat of Augmentation, twice introduced upon this monument, the banner has a bordure gobonée, sable and argent, not mentioned in the description as stated in the docquet.


Southwell

SOUTHWELL MINSTER.

On approaching Southwell from the direction of Newark, or, indeed, from any point on the north or west of the town, little of the fine Collegiate church, a building inferior to few of our cathedrals in dignity and interest, is to be seen, except the upper parts of the towers. The wooded eminences, however, which close it in so as to limit in number the favourable points of view, add very much to their beauty. Perhaps the best is from some meadows to the left of the road, as we enter the town on the eastern side. We may there select a point from which we have a complete view, nearly to the ground, of the fine east front of the choir; behind which rise the three Norman towers, nearly of equal height above the roof. On the north is seen the outline of the Chapter-house; and that the opposite side of the picture may not be deficient in interest, the ruins of the old palace, once the favourite residence of the Archbishops of York, seem almost to abut upon the southern transept.

The architectural antiquary will not be disappointed when he examines more closely the structure, whose outline and general character he has studied at a distance. He will have seen at a glance, that the three earlier styles are exhibited, without confusion or intermixture, in grand and distinct masses. The nave, transepts, and towers, are Norman; having, indeed, later insertions, but still presenting a larger proportion of the original work unchanged, than we commonly find in buildings of that date. The Choir is pure Early English; the addition of a decorated pinnacle or two in the aisles, and the alteration of the eastern gable, appear to be the only infringements upon the original. The Chapter-house is decorated. Its windows have the geometrical tracery; but its ornaments and general workmanship show an advancement in the style. The large west window, and most

of the aisle windows of the nave are Perpendicular insertions; but it is rather in the domestic buildings, than in the church, that we must consider this style as having contributed its beauties to the group. The aspect of the building has been somewhat changed by the demolition of its high pitched roofs, and of the wooden spires on the western towers. These latter are given in the elevation of the front in Rastall's History of Southwell. The pinnacles are therefore of recent date; but they are well imitated from those of the central tower, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently. The roof of the nave and transepts rose nearly as high as the lower string of the tower; that of the choir was much higher, rising nearly to the top of the arcade above. And from a print in Rastall we learn, that the Chapter-house had also a lofty pointed roof, as at York and Lincoln. In this instance, the alteration has certainly been no improvement to the edifice, as it makes the nave deficient in height. The elevation of the western towers would not have been so much injured by the height of the gable and pitch of the roof, as it is by their present connecting parapet, a horizontal embattled one, and the character of the central tower being massiveness rather than height, a little reduction of its height above the line of the roof, would have been far from prejudicial.

There do not seem to be at present extant many records calculated to throw light upon the architectural history of this church. Rastall refers principally to the Registrum Album, or white book, which is in possession of the Chapter of Southwell, and "contains a very curious collection of charters and grants from popes, kings, and other persons, to the Archbishops of York and Church of Southwell, beginning from a period very little posterior to the Conquest, and continuing to the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII." From this, however, more is to be gained relative to the government and privileges of the church as a collegiate body, than to the actual progress of the fabric. He also cites from Torre's Collection, in the custody of the church at York.

It has been suggested to me, that there may still be found, among the documents existing at York, some, bearing upon

the dates of the building now under consideration. And I much regret that I have not had an opportunity of making inquiries on this head, as I cannot but think that they might tend to elicit many curious particulars as to imitations from the large metropolitan church carried out in inferior ones connected with it. It cannot escape notice, that in many points, Southwell Minster resembles in plan, proportion, and general aspect, the more magnificent Cathedral of York. This resemblance, where the respective dates of the styles admit of the supposition, suggests that the smaller building was copied from the larger, and it is impossible to conceive the case to be otherwise, as regards the Chapter-house in the present instance. But where, in the points of similarity, the smaller building is earlier of the two, we are led to the inference that the larger one, though it be altered in style, and perhaps dimensions, still retains in some degree, the design and character of a former structure, which may have afforded a type to the architect of the smaller fabric. In short, the present aspect of Southwell Minster may suggest, that the Norman Minster of York had the characteristic features of the present one, namely, the three towers ; and these not very much differing in proportion from those which now exist.

I was much struck, on a recent visit to Lindisfarne Abbey, with its resemblance, in certain points, to Durham Cathedral, especially in the piers of the nave, which, as at Durham, are alternately massive enriched cylinders, and clustered pillars, with shafts. It seems, also, to have had, like Durham, three towers, though the resemblance is not carried out to the later additions at the east end. Now, the Norman work at Lindisfarne is not of the very earliest character : it is, therefore, not unlikely that the present fabric was, in some degree, copied from the new Cathedral of Durham, after the removal of the see to that place. If, however, I am wrong as regards the relative dates of the two buildings (and I formed my opinion after a very cursory survey), it is still easier to account for the resemblance ; as nothing would be more natural than for the architects of the new cathedral to retain, where it was possible, the character of the old.

I am aware that what I have advanced may be treated as mere conjecture ; but it is surely no uninteresting speculation which may enable us to form an idea, from the existing forms of Southwell, of the destroyed forms of York, belonging to another period, and, from the known dates of the fabric of York, of the unknown dates of Southwell. But before we pursue further the subject of architectural history, let us examine the structure itself.

We enter the churchyard, on the western side, through a Late Norman arch, above which is a gable formed of large steps, apparently of a subsequent period. Here we obtain an excellent view of the west front, which consists of two towers corresponding with the aisles, and a central portion now exhibiting a horizontal embattled parapet, considerably higher than the clerestory walls. All the Norman work of this compartment above the lower stage has been obliterated, and a large and not very graceful perpendicular window of seven lights, with a transom, inserted. As the point of this window is higher than the roof of the nave, the wooden roof is raised between the towers, sufficiently to show the whole window from a short distance. The external form of this roof corresponds with the internal, being the segment of a cylinder. In the lower stage of the central compartment of the front, is a fine enriched Norman door-way of five orders. Above the basement stage, which is low and plain, is a string enriched with the chevron, which runs round the sides of the Norman part of the building in nearly an unbroken line, and where it meets the door-ways on the south side and transept, it follows the curve of the arch. Above this string each of the towers has six stages, of which the three lower ones are comparatively plain, the upper ones exhibiting the usual Norman enrichments. The parapet cornice is supported by heads or brackets, as are those in the south porch ; the nebule occurring in the corresponding parts of the nave, central tower, aisles, and transepts. The north tower has in one of its stages an arcade of intersecting arches, which is answered in the south tower by one of the pointed arches, the same in number and general character with those formed

by the intersections. On the west face of the northern tower is the mark of some building erected against it ; but to judge from the restored arch below, this was probably of a late period. In the face of the south tower corresponding with the aisle range, is a decorated window of three lights, with double foliations in the heads and in the tracery lights.

Entering by the western door, we are struck with the great massiveness, solidity, and simplicity of the structure. The round arch prevails throughout, in the nave and transepts. The piers of the former are cylindrical, of low and massive proportions, being 15 feet in circumference, the height of the column between base and capital being only nine and a half. The capitals are enriched with several Norman ornaments, but no figures or foliage. The abacus follows the circular plan of the pier, as in Tewkesbury and Gloucester. The arches have two orders and a label, which latter has the billet or some other of the smaller Norman ornaments. The torus is used in the mouldings of the arch. The soffit of the inferior order has a group of mouldings, which, though perhaps common enough, still gives a peculiar character, and may be indicative of the date. It consists of a rectangular edge projecting from the surface, between two tori, and produces greater breadth, but less sharpness of line, than the usual way of placing the torus in a re-entering right angle. The same moulding occurs externally in the central buttress of the tower of St. Alban's Abbey, in the upper stages. One of the same kind, though modified to suit its position, occurs in the face of some arches in the very curious apsidal church of Gillingham St. Mary, in Norfolk, where it certainly gives an air of considerable antiquity.

The triforium presents, in each bay, a single round arch of two orders, of much the same character with the pier arch below, but with shafted imposts. In the highest point, and at the springs of the inner order, is a curious projection, as if there had been an intention of dividing the arch into smaller ones, and bringing a shaft up to the crown of the larger arch, as in Romsey. The openings of the arches are now blocked up by plaster partitions. The clerestory,

throughout the whole Norman part, consists of a single circular window, surrounded externally with a string, and internally set in an arch whose soffit is quite plain. A clerestory gallery runs through the thickness of the wall. The aisles are vaulted and ribbed; and the imposts being mere brackets in the wall, there appears not to have been sufficient support for the vaulting, which has, in consequence, cracked very considerably. The foundations, indeed, on the south side, have been proved to be so shallow and insecure, that it has been necessary to underbuild them; and, what is a curious and somewhat puzzling circumstance, fragments of Norman work, with the billet and other mouldings, have been taken out of the old foundation. The piers of the central tower are clustered, and project in the ground-plan considerably beyond the line of the nave piers; the distance between the north and south pier of the western arch being less than 19 feet, while that between the opposite piers of the nave is nearly 28. And it is remarkable that the span of the arches into the transepts is greater than of those into the nave and choir. In the tower arches, which are extremely fine in their elevation, and those of the transept windows, we observe a new feature, namely, a remarkably bold cable moulding—perhaps the most effective of any, not even excepting the chevron, which could have been designed to be seen from a distance. The transepts are without aisles, and their fronts have two bays, with a triple tier of windows. In the south front is a door, with a very segmental head. The east side of the north transept has some early English work inserted; evidently of the date of the library to the eastward. The south transept, like many others, has a large arch, which may have opened into an eastern apse. This arch is now walled up, leaving a recess internally, between two and three feet in depth. In the wall is inserted a Norman doorway, now also blocked up, which seems to have been no other than one of the Norman windows of the aisles. Externally, in an angle formed by a projection beyond the buttress of the transept, is a Norman shaft and capital, with the line of the arch,

which is on a level with the masonry, and appears to have been a part of the original impost. It is remarkable that this shaft leans outwards, or to the southward, while the projection against which it stands, has a leaning in the contrary direction, as if to counteract the pressure of the apsidal arch. And a string, enriched with chevrons, is carried round the angle of the projection I have mentioned, stopped by the shaft, and again resumed in the wall, filling up the apsidal arch, though but for a short distance. The plan of using the old Norman work in restorations has already been adverted to in the case of the foundation to the aisle walls. The neighbouring church of Thurgarton presents a curious instance of the use of old pieces of detail. It consists of part of the nave of a much larger building, the pier arches built up, and the east end of course belonging to a date subsequent to the destruction of the fabric. But the old windows are inserted in such a manner as to give the whole almost the air of an original design. We often meet with apparent anomalies, which we can only explain by admitting this practice to have prevailed to a very considerable extent.

Some large Norman churches still retain the eastern apse in one or both of the transepts. Among these are Norwich, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Romsey, and the ruined Abbey of Lindisfarne. And some exhibit only the indications, as in the example before us. This is the case at Worcester, and at Pershore, in its neighbourhood. The former must have opened (if we are to judge from the crypt still remaining) not merely into a semi-circular area, but into a long aisle or chapel, like that at Ripon, with a semi-circular termination. The ground about this transept at Southwell is so much disturbed, that it would probably be useless to seek for any foundations.

The lower story of the tower, now the ringing-floor, has evidently been open as a lantern; the arches have been enriched with the chevron, but are now plastered over; they have the appearance of having at some time suffered by fire. The upper stages, which are richer externally, are much

simpler in the interior. Indeed, in most Norman central towers belonging to large conventual churches, we may remark that the richer surfaces externally correspond with the plainer internally, and *vice versâ*. Tewkesbury affords a striking example.

Before we quit the Norman part of the church, it will be as well to notice one or two characteristic details. Above the range of aisle windows is a string, and above that, immediately under the parapet, is in each bay a small opening with a segmental, in fact nearly a square, head, having Norman shafts in the jambs. It breaks into the nebule table, so that to admit it, one at least of the nebules is cut off below, and in most cases the square part finished with the same moulding that runs round the whole; but in one case it seems cut off somewhat inartificially. I mention this, trifling as it may appear, because such things may sometimes lead us to discriminate between work of different periods. The ornaments are in general, the chevron, which is applied both ways, on the face of the arch and on the soffit; the billet moulding; the hatched moulding; the nebule; and the very bold cable in the tower arches and transepts. The pinnacles of the western towers are modern; but those on the central tower, upon examining closely, and taking into consideration both the nature of the material and the workmanship, I am inclined to believe are original pinnacles, though not in their original position. In the parapet of this tower much stone is worked up which evidently belonged to the transept gables when they had their original pitch. The base of the pinnacles is clearly modern, and I believe that when the transept gables were lowered, they were removed from their position at the angles of the same gables, and forthwith transferred to the tower. The intermediate ornaments are evidently modern.

The work still remaining in the two transept gables is different in detail, though similar in character, and it is reasonable to suppose this was the case with the pinnacles. Accordingly, we find the two north pinnacles of the tower of one pattern, and the two southern ones of a different.

On the north porch, the gable of which, though low, seems to have been untouched, are two very striking turrets of a cylindrical form, with conical spires. One of them is (and appears always to have been) a chimney. The parapet table of this porch has some curious masks as brackets.

The choir is a very perfect specimen of early English, and is vaulted throughout. As the roof has a longitudinal rib, it is probably late in the style, and all the shafts are filleted, which, when it occurs generally throughout a building, seems to be a mark of an advanced style. But all the windows are lancets; there is no sub-division by any shaft or mullion, nor any combination into the forms of a larger window, unless the east end, when its gable was complete, may have suggested one. The toothed ornament is freely used. The mouldings, both of the capitals, and arches, are deep and numerous. There are some very beautiful balls and bosses; and the corbels or brackets of the vaulted shafts are enriched with some very excellent work. The capitals are not ornamented with foliage. The western compartment of vaulting nearest the tower is very narrow, and has no pier arch corresponding, the whole bay being filled up by the wall, which gives a good abutment to the lower arch. The neglect of this precaution, in rebuilding choirs, has, probably, occasioned the fall of several Norman central towers. As the engaged column for a pier arch eastward of the tower remains, and also arches corresponding with those into the nave aisles, we infer that the Norman choir also had aisles. It seems that the eastern termination of the old Norman work was discovered during some repairs in the choir, in the last century, and that it extended about a third of the length of the present choir, or 52 feet; and that the additional extension of the building was erected on a new base, the material employed being a soft stone found in the immediate vicinity, differing both from the Bolsover stone of the nave, towers, and transepts, and the Mansfield stone of the choir, while detached fragments of columns, capitals, and other parts of the prior dilapidated building, were seen confusedly scattered about among the rubbish.[1]

[1] Rastall.

The present choir consists of six bays, having arches opening into the aisles, and two beyond, without any aisle. On the north and south sides are small transepts or chapels projecting from the aisle. The vaulting of the choir is quadripartite, and from the narrowness of the cells, compared with the principal vault, the elliptical curve in the clerestory arches is very evident; this is the case with most Early English vaulting. The clerestory arrangement is beautiful, and well suited to the elevation of the building, which is not so great as in some of our minsters. The bay is divided by an enriched cluster of shafts, which stands free, into two tall arches, in each of which is set the window above, and a small blank arch below, corresponding with the triforium stage. A similar arrangement is to be observed in Pershore Church, in Worcestershire; and it is no less suited to the tall vertical lines of the Early English style than the more usual triple division. The height of the choir arches is considerably greater than of those in the nave. One on the south side is lower than the others, and has an ornament between its apex and the story above. It has been suggested to me that this may possibly be a stone enclosing a relic. The aisle vaulting is quinquipartite in most of its bays, having a couplet of windows with a vaulting shaft between them.

The eastern part of the choir is very fine, and if I may judge from the base mouldings, the earliest part, perhaps, commenced before the destruction of the Norman choir. In the impost of the easternmost pier arch is a detached shaft with a band; a feature which does not occur in the other piers. The east end has two tiers of windows, each tier consisting of four lancets; in the lower one has been introduced some fine cinque cento painted glass; on which, as it is described by Mr. Winston in the present volume of "Transactions," I need not make any observations. A vaulting shaft and rib occupies a central position, making the vaulting of this portion similar to that noticed in the aisles. This bisection of an east front is not very usual, as it prevents the introduction of a central window. It occurs, however, at Romsey, and in Glasgow Cathedral. The sides have also

two tiers of windows. The buttresses throughout are exceedingly fine, being deep and bold, with good bases, and high-pitched triangular heads; the sides are slightly splayed off. The eastern ones are terminated by large shafted pinnacles.

Of a later period than the choir, but still in the Early English style, is an addition to the east side of the north transept, which is about equal to its height. The lower part is used as the library; a portion of the upper part, as the treasury. That this was an addition not contemplated at the time of the erection of the choir, is proved by the circumstance that some external strings of the aisle, especially a cornice moulding under its parapet, are visible in the interior of the new work. At the head of the staircase leading to the treasury, is a sculptured shaft, apparently Norman, worked up into the later building. The door at the head of the staircase is left in a rude and unfinished condition. There are some windows, externally lancets, but with a trefoil head internally. Some windows of flowing decorated, are inserted in the Early English archways in the library. As belonging to the Early English style, we may notice an arch in the south aisle of the nave, now destroyed for the insertion of a modern Norman window. It is much to be regretted that the wish to restore buildings to their original state should so often lead to the destruction of inserted work, excellent in itself, and still more valuable as evidence in the architectural history of the building.

We now come to the decorated part, namely, the Chapter-house. But, first, we should notice a few unfoliated arches of an arcade in the passage leading to it—probably, of decorated date, and, indeed, showing marks of decorated work; an instance of the assimilation we sometimes find of later to earlier work. In some cases the architect's intention seems to have been to make the transition as gradual, in others to make the contrast as strong and startling, as possible. But, perhaps, in the latter case, a thorough change of the whole fabric was contemplated, as at Winchester and Gloucester.

The door of the Chapter-house, one of the most beautiful specimens within the range of Gothic art, is divided by a

slender, mullion-shaped shaft, with a capital of exquisite foliage—with which, also, the capitals and architecture of the superior arch are enriched. The room is octagonal, vaulted, and, as at York, without any central pillar; the windows are of three lights, with geometrical tracery. Externally is a parapet, of open work, with a series of arches on corbels under its cornice; and crocketted pinnacles, crowning deep buttresses, at the angles. Engaged in the south-west face is a circular stair-turret.

We must not omit to notice the beautiful decorated screen at the entrance of the choir. It opens into the nave with three canopied arches having free foliations, and it presents some fine panelling of flowing tracery. The roof is flat, but supported by ribs, which, if the interstices were filled up, would form a regular vault. The intersections are enriched with bosses; and the space between the flying rib and a flat one corresponding to it on the actual roof, is occupied by a trefoiled circle. The effect of the whole is extremely rich.

Among the monuments may be noticed some good incised crosses, and one fine raised cross—now under the north-west tower. There is also an alabaster effigy, much mutilated, beneath a round-headed Early English or decorated recess in the north aisle. I understand this monument was removed from the choir. A similar recess occurs in the south projection or transept of the choir aisle.

The dimensions of the building are as follows :—

	Feet.	Inches.
Total length inside, about	307	5
Length of nave, from the west wall to the western face of the tower arch	143	7
Total width at the intersection of the transept	122	3½
Width of nave and aisles	66	0
Width between two opposite piers of nave	27	10½
Width between two adjacent piers	13	2
Height of the parapet of the transept, above the base moulding, about	47	0
Parapet of central tower, above that of the transept	53	8

The parapet of the western towers is lower than that of the central by about 6 feet.

In all the three styles the work appears to have been most

carefully executed, and affords, perhaps, as pure examples of each as are to be found in any building now extant.

The architectural history of this church must (unless records should come to light which are yet unpublished) remain a matter of reasonable conjecture, rather than positive certainty. When we see that Rastall, who assigns an ante-Norman date to the nave and transepts, is convinced by facts on record, in the face of all distinctions of style, that the choir is of the date of Edward III., and the chapter-house at least as late as Richard II. ; that is, that the pure Early English work of the one was contemporaneous with work of a late Decorated style; and the early Decorated of the chapter-house, with decidedly Perpendicular buildings ; and this, while the patrons and great benefactors of the church, the Archbishops of York, showed themselves to be rather in advance than behind-hand, in point of style, we shall admit that the existing records are, at least, of a nature that renders them liable to be misunderstood. We will refer to these as we notice the parts of the fabric on which they are thought to bear.

In a certificate of the Commissioners for the Survey of Chantries, &c., 37th Henry VIII., it is stated (and apparently on the authority of records then in possession of the Chapter) that the collegiate church of Southwell, of ancient time, was founded by the right famous of memory, Edgar, the King's most noble progenitor. This, probably, refers, not to the first foundation of the church, but to considerable benefactions—perhaps the rebuilding of the fabric.

Alfric, the twenty-second Archbishop of York, who was consecrated to that see in 1022, lived and died at Southwell, and was a great benefactor ; and Kinsius, his immediate successor, is said to have given two large bells to the church at Southwell, as well as to that of Beverley, and two more to that of Stow. This latter church has been shown to contain ante-Norman work in its transepts, which proves it to have been cruciform, and consequently a church of considerable importance before the Conquest, and there can be no doubt that at the same time Southwell Church was a structure of

some consequence. But I need not say, that the date of foundation, however well authenticated, does not necessarily mark the age of the present building. Most of our cathedrals and large conventual or collegiate churches were rebuilt soon after the Conquest, on a scale of greater magnificence, even if the work then existing was very recent. In the case before us, I am informed by the person who conducts the repairs of the building, that a few years ago some foundations consisting of rubble work, and exceeding at least two feet in thickness, running north and south, were discovered within the area of the north transept, the western face being about eight feet from that of the eastern wall of the present transept. It is to be regretted that this clue to the original position of the church, should it be one, was not followed out at the time.

As for the architectural details discovered under the foundations of the aisle, they are not such as we should expect to meet with in structures of the Saxon period; in fact, they belong to a somewhat advanced Norman. They exhibit, with little or no variation, the same ornaments that occur in the nave, especially the billet-moulding; and it seems difficult to account for their position, except by supposing the aisle walls to have been rebuilt, whether for the sake of strength, or the addition of the vaulting, or of room; or else that after the insertion of the Perpendicular windows the same operation was found necessary that is now resorted to, that of underbuilding the walls.

When we consider that the Norman choirs of large buildings, generally the first parts completed and consecrated, are now, with few exceptions, destroyed to make room for a later style, and that the rest of the edifice, not being so immediately required, often proceeded slowly and gradually, we shall readily admit that the buildings which remain to us of a period between the Conquest and the end of that century are extremely limited in number. The transepts of Winchester seem clearly to establish a claim to that date. Those of Ely; some of the eastern part of Norwich; parts of Gloucester Cathedral and of St. Alban's Abbey; the Chapel

in the White Tower, London, with several crypts, may also be safely referred to the same period. In looking at these, though we observe a prevalence of plain orders, of a rectangular section, and without mouldings in the arch, yet we cannot say that the round torus and other mouldings, approaching to those in the building we are now considering, are excluded; and again, although as the transition of style began to appear, mouldings were so multiplied as often to give the work of Henry the Second's time a character as completely distinct from that of Henry the First, as the late is from the early Perpendicular, yet the plain orders are by no means of rare occurrence. Neither is the cylindrical pier, even with a circular capital, of itself a criterion of style or date. In short, I am not aware of any one tangible feature in the nave and transepts of Southwell Minster, that would lead us to pronounce with confidence upon their actual age. At the same time the general character of the whole, the careful distribution of ornament, so as to give sufficient richness without destroying simplicity, the fine composition and proportion of the tower arches, the excellence of the mouldings, which relieve the heaviness of the style, without suggesting, by an undue lightness or multiplicity, the near approach of a new one; these, with the good close-jointed masonry, induce me to assign it a date subsequent to the very first appearance of Norman, but much antecedent to its transition into Early English. I should give it to rather the earlier than the latter part of the reign of Henry the First, but perhaps allow Tewkesbury Abbey, commenced at the beginning of that reign, some slight priority. I cannot help imagining, that after the completion of York according to its commencement by Archbishop Thomas, who presided from 1070 to 1100, attention was turned to the important church of Southwell, so closely connected with that see, and the Norman structure commenced, of which the present nave and transepts are the principal part.[2]

[2] Mr. Dimock has kindly furnished me with the following extract from the White Book, observing that the letter must have been written "either by Thomas the First (who was Archbishop of York from 1070 to 1100), or Thomas the Second (1108 to 1114), for the only other Archbishop Thomas was Thomas

As the intersecting arcade occurs in the north porch, and the upper parts of the central and north-western tower, and the pointed arch in the corresponding one, I conclude that these do not belong to an earlier date than the reign of Henry the Second.

In Henry the Third's time (I quote from Rastall) an indulgence of thirty days was granted for the consummation of the fabric of St. Mary of "Suwell," long since begun to be restored. It bears the date of 1235, and is in Torre's Collection at York.

We could not possibly assign a more satisfactory date than this to the choir, which may not unreasonably be supposed to have been undertaken on the completion of that of York, which, to judge from the present transepts, was rebuilt in the Early English style.

The next document is a letter from John, Archbishop of York, dated 1293, assigning certain fines "ad fabricam novi capituli." Whether this signifies the new chapter-house already erected, or in course of erection, or a new chapter-house about to be erected, it seems to point to a date not much differing from 1293, as assignable to the beautiful edifice which now forms the chapter-house. And this is a likely date for a building which exhibits geometrical tracery, and will not be contrary to the supposition that the original of the design was the fine chapter-house of York. Intermediate, both in position and date, is the eastern addition to the northern transept; an Early English work, in which Decorated windows are inserted at a later period.

de Corbridge (1299 to 1303), and long before his time the Nottingham clergy annually met in synod at Southwell, and had not to go to York; as is plain from Pope Alexander's Bull, 1170, and therefore Thomas de Corbridge was not the granter of the privilege nor the writer of the letter."

From White Book, p. 124.

"*Litera Archiepiscopi pro sustentacione Ecclesiæ Suthwell.*

"Thomas Dei gratia omnibus parochianis suis de Nottingham scira salutem et dī benedictionem. Precamur vos sicut filios carissimos, ut in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum adjuvetis de beneficio elemosinæ vestræ ad faciendam ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Suwella. Et quicunque ibi vel de minimo auxilium fecerit, erit usque in finem hujus seculi particeps omnium orationum et beneficiorum quæ fient in ea, et in omnibus ecclesiis nostris. Et ut hoc libentius debetis facere quo vobis relaxamus ne vos oporteat per singulos annos visitare Eborum ecclesiam, sicut omnes alii parochiani nostri faciunt, sed ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Suwella cum ibi habetis idem p̄doñ (?) quod habetis Eborum. Valete, &c."

But, according to Rastall, most of the donations during the reign of Edward the Third were made to the fabric. A letter of request was issued in 1352 from the Chapter of York for the purpose of collecting the alms and charitable contributions of the people within that city, diocese, and province, for the furtherance of this fabric of St. Mary of Southwell; and in the 11th year of this reign a royal licence was given to the Chapter to get stone in the quarries of the forest of Shirewood, for the purposes of the fabric. From these, and from some supposed heads of Edward the Third, Philippa, and the Black Prince, which he represents as occurring in the building, he infers that the choir, notwithstanding its style, must have been in course of erection as late as 1352; though the nave of York, of pure Decorated, was completed in 1315, and Thoresby, who commenced its Perpendicular choir, was archbishop from 1352 to 1373. Now the only part, besides the insertion of some windows, and perhaps the finish of the upper part of the chapter-house, that can at all correspond with this date, as regards style, will be the rood-screen (which has been noticed) and the sedilia.

But may we not account for the great preparation at this period, by supposing that after the completion of the Decorated nave at York a similar re-erection was contemplated at Southwell by the archbishops who frequented it, a supposition somewhat favoured by the Decorated window in the west face of the south tower. The design was indeed abandoned, and the only recurrence to it, at a somewhat subsequent date, was the substitution of Perpendicular for Norman windows in the aisles, and the rebuilding of the central part of the west front, above the entrance-door.

But I have offered these as mere suggestions. We must be cautious, lest the invaluable treatise of Rickman, by the precision with which it marks the difference of styles, should render us too positive in assigning dates, and too careless of actual records. The researches of Professor Willis have opened an ample field of employment for a multitude of labourers, who will, from the sources of information which they are

continually enabled to develope, throw a light, not merely on dry details of date, but upon the spirit and principle on which our ancestors carried their magnificent designs into effect.

I have now to express my thankful acknowledgments to the Ven. Archdeacon Wilkins, for his kindness in affording me every facility in the examination of this interesting edifice ; and very particularly to the Rev. J. Dimock, minor canon of Southwell, who has pointed out to me all the features most worthy of notice, many of which I should probably have overlooked, and to whose observations, as well as to the documents which he has collected for my use, I am indebted for any light I may have been enabled to throw upon the history of the fabric.

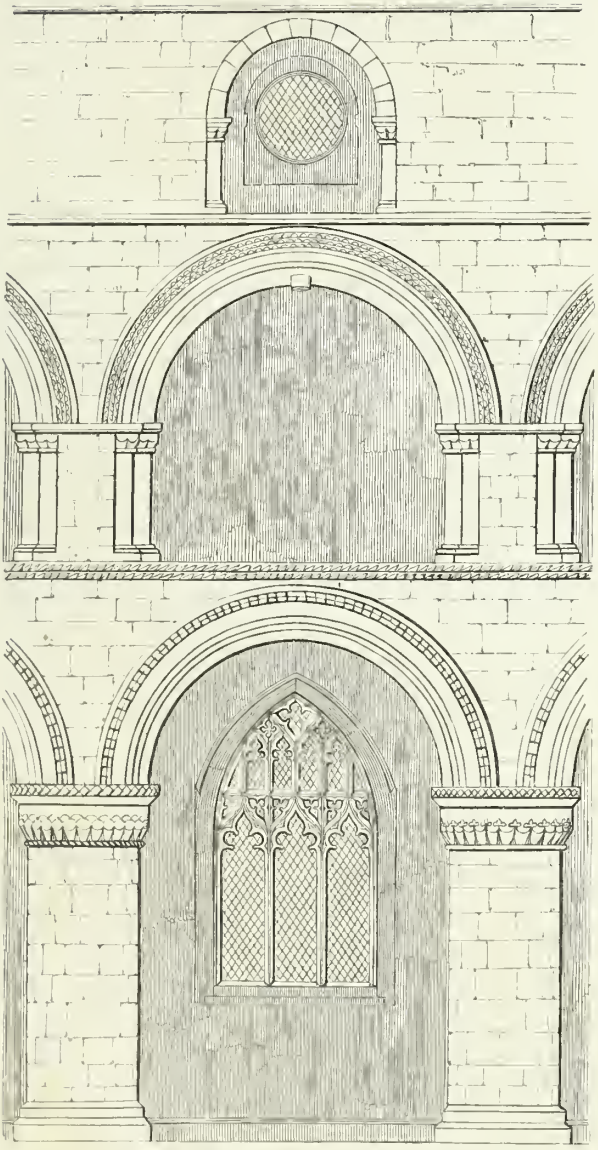
J. L. P.

*** The Central Committee have the satisfaction to record their grateful esteem of the kind encouragement and liberality shown on so many occasions by Mr. Petit; to whom the Society is indebted for the whole of the Illustrations of the foregoing Memoir, presented by him to this Volume.

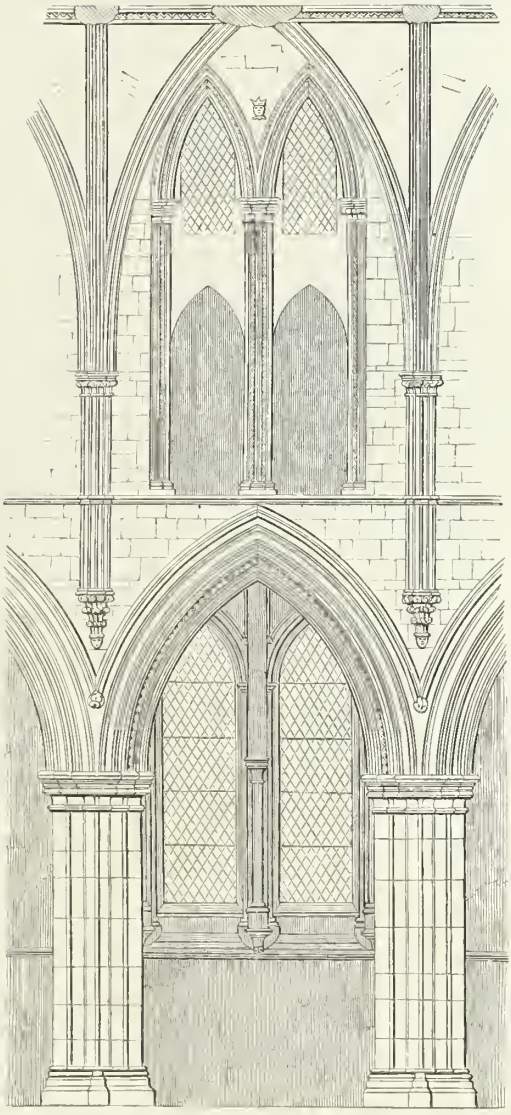
SOUTHWELL MINSTER.

Ground Plan.

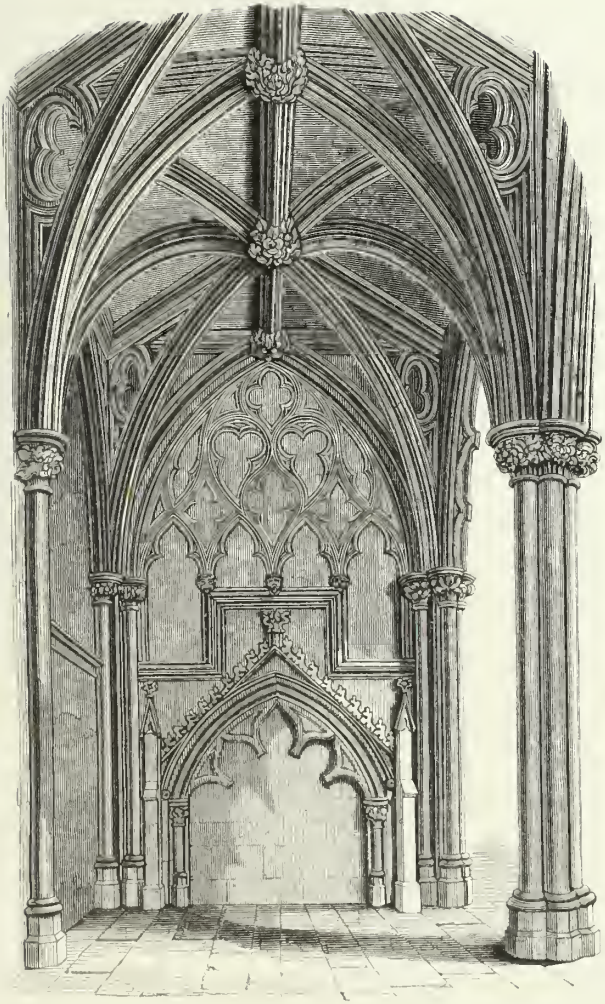
Elevation of West end, Southwell Minster



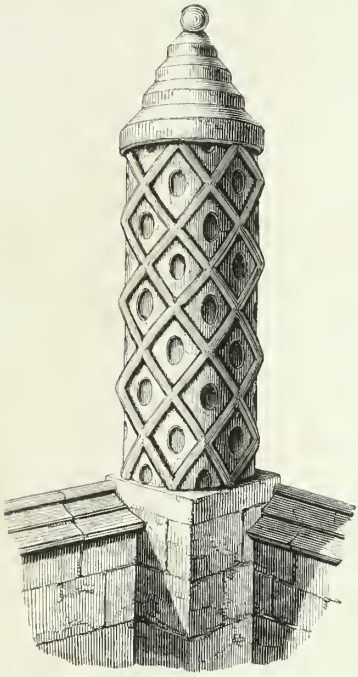
Bay of Nave, Southwell Minster.



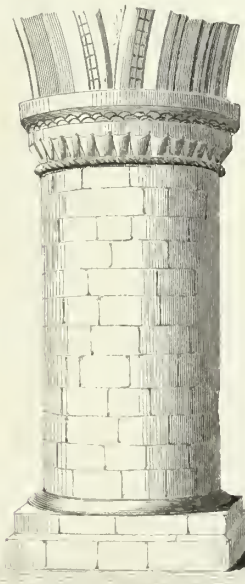
Bay of Choir, Southwell.



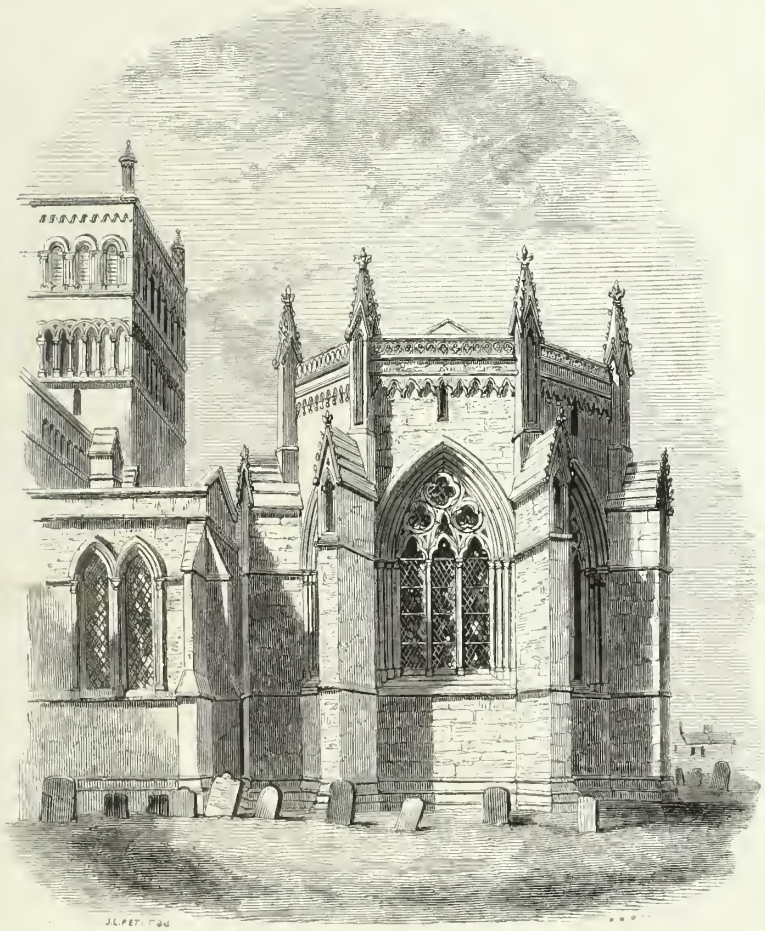
Vaulting under Organ Screen



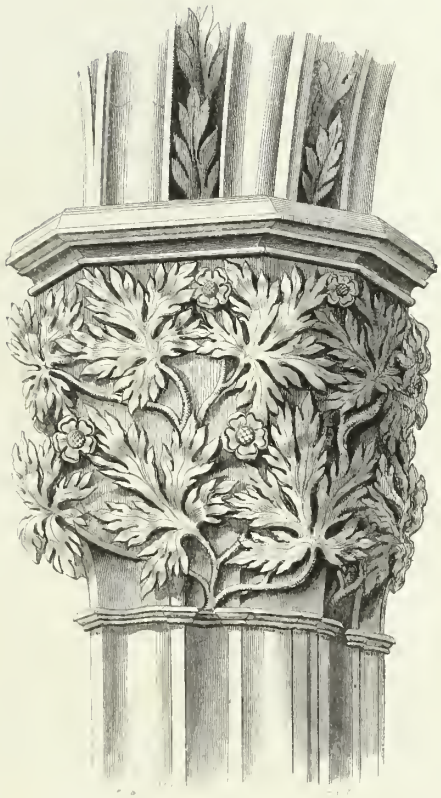
Turret S.W. corner of Central Tower.



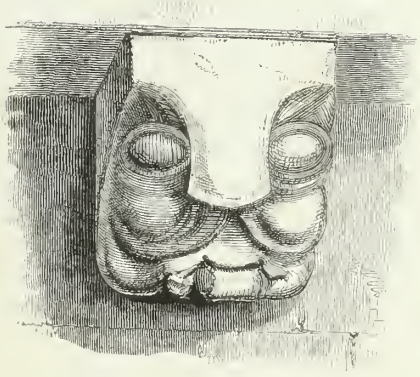
Pier of Nave. South side.



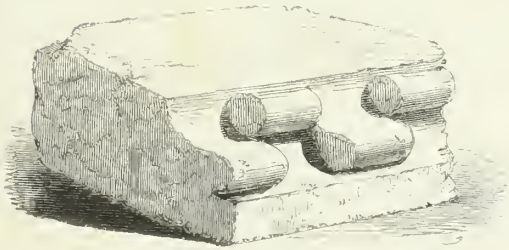
Chapter House.



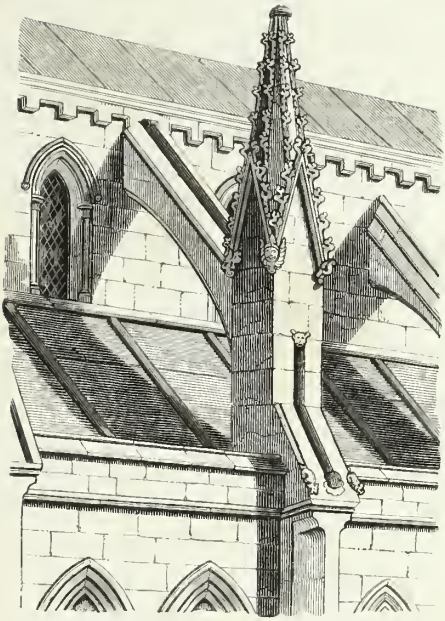
Capital from Entrance to Chapter House



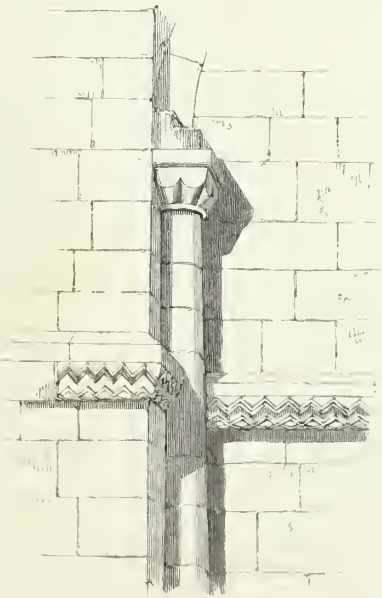
Norman Corbel on Porch



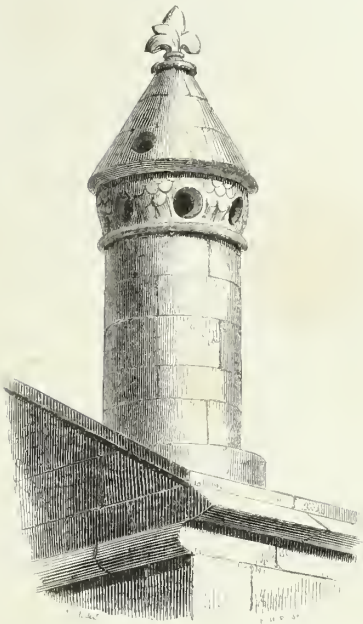
Norman Fragment.



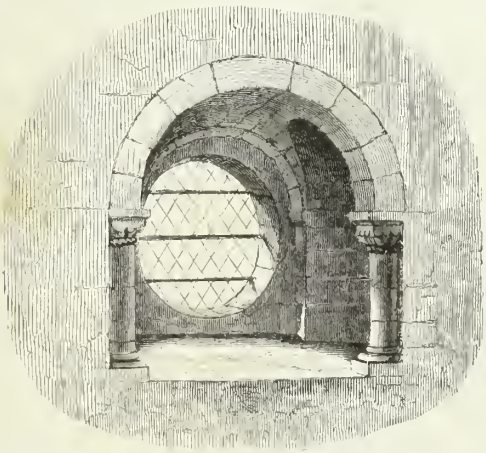
Flying Buttress.



Norman work on East side of South Transept



Chimney on North Porch.



Clerestory Window in Transept

N Doorway. External.

W. Doorway.

Window in Transept. Inside.

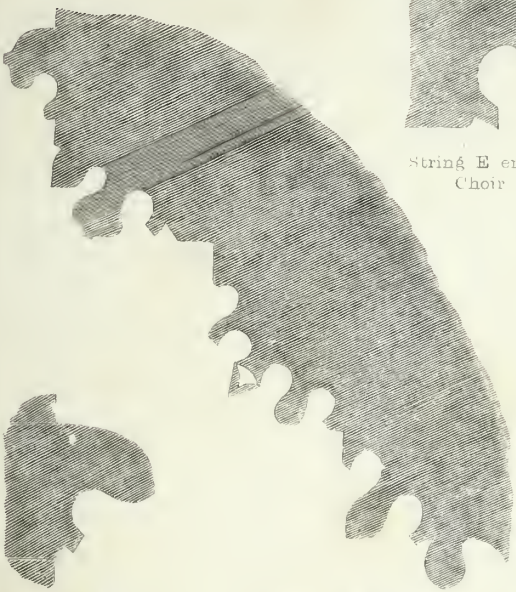
Aisle Window of Nave Interior.

Transept.

String Course,
N. Side of Nave.

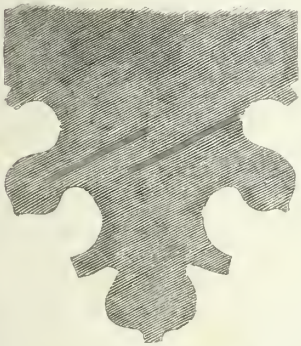
Nave.

String E end of Choir



String Course Choir

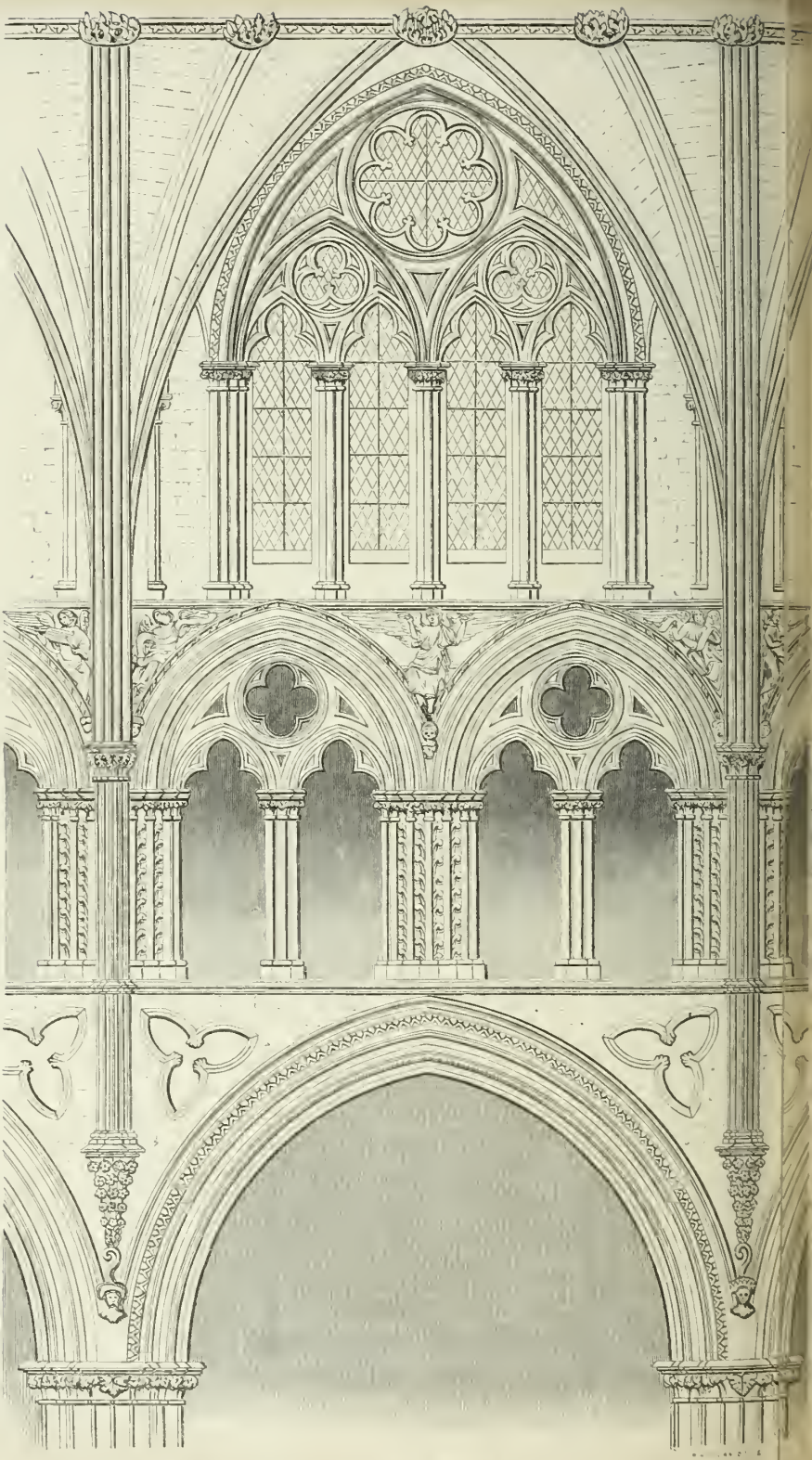
Pier Arch of Choir



Transverse Vaulting Rib. Choir Aisle

Diagonal Vaulting Rib. Choir Aisle

Nave Buttress



ANCIENT SCULPTURE IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

The easternmost portion of the Cathedral-church of Lincoln has commonly obtained the name of the Angel Choir, from the conspicuous elegance of the winged figures, in high relief, which adorn the spandrils of the Triforium arches.

This elongation of the church was effected about the year 1282[1] for the reception of the canonised remains of St. Hugh, which were deposited in a golden shrine of exquisite workmanship, admired and venerated by popular devotion in the length and breadth of the land.

Its admirable sculptures could not fail to attract the regard of artists; with whom they have at all times been in high estimation. Mr. Wild, in his elegant engravings of Lincoln Cathedral, Plate XIV., was, however, the first to illustrate them in any degree, by a selection (in a small scale, indeed) of some of the most striking; but no attempt has hitherto been made by that gentleman or any other to penetrate the significance of this angelic host, or to set forth the merits of their conception, and of their execution.

The Puritan dread of imagery, which still clings to our Church (contrary to the highest authorities on this interesting question[2]), and the long disuse and depreciation in this country of the sculptor's art as applied to religious architecture, have occasioned these precious relics of a noble school to be ignored by the public to the present times; and perhaps we owe their fortunate preservation rather to their lofty position than to the clemency of the authorities;

[1] In 1256, the Dean and Canons petitioned for leave to remove the city wall, in order to extend the choir, and carry out this "new work." From 1186 to 1258, Bishops Hugh de Grenoble (or St. Hugh, who is said to have laboured with his own hands in the work), William de Blois, Hugh de Wells, the famous Grossetete or Greathead, Lexington, Benedict de Gravesend, and Oliver Sutton, had rebuilt the Cathedral from west to east.

[2] See Dr. Wilson's "Ornaments of Churches considered."

for, in Worcester Cathedral, a contemporaneous work, of similar arrangement, and probably, therefore, of equal merit, has been lamentably effaced by the iconoclasts of the seventeenth century.

The investigation of the series in Lincoln Cathedral, so happily preserved during 570 years, in every detail, has a twofold interest ;—first, the expounding of the religious subject ; the thesis which animated the author of this sculptured homily ; — and, secondly, the claim which it undeniably asserts in favour of the English school of sculpture, as coeval and of equal merit with that of countries hitherto reputed as the originators of the revival ; and the proof it affords that the national genius distinguished itself in this fine art, no less than in those other branches of science and renown which surround the names of Roger Bacon, Greathead, Michael Scot, Duns Scotus, and many others of our countrymen in the thirteenth century, with such imperishable lustre.

Next to the written page, sculpture and painting undoubtedly present to the lover of antiquity the most familiar and explicit illustrations of the intellectual spirit of their day,—in fact, a hieroglyphic of almost equal value,—it is by their means that many precious details, disdained by the historian, or treated as matters of course, are made manifest to us. In such a series as this, we read at a glance, in terms which architecture could not possibly convey, and which the historian would require space and time to explain, the state of religious doctrine, the taste of poetic expression, the manners, the humour, wit, grace, and devotional feeling of the times ; of which it is the transcript and the mirror.

To the artist attracted primarily by the beauty and cogency of the design of these sculptures of the Angel Choir, perceiving its regularity, and the unmistakeable intention of the principal figures, a lofty and most appropriate purpose is soon apparent ;—and a little meditation soon developes a consistent series of consecutive subjects relating to the Promises of the Almighty from the beginning of the world ; the Revelation of His Word through the Patriarchs and the Prophets ; the Incarnation of the Word ;—the great doc-

trines of the Atonement, of Judgment to come, and of Rewards and Punishments; the joys of Heaven; the dignity of the Church, as the depository of divine things; and, finally, the Revelations of the future destinies of man.—And truly, the adequate treatment, in thirty pieces,[3] of a subject so awful and momentous; with propriety, solemnity, and pathos; free from pedantry and superstition;—a theme worthy a Miltonian spirit; implies a profound knowledge of the written Word (as well as a culture of the poetic faculty, and of art in the expression of it to the popular feeling) of extraordinary attainment in any age; and which cannot fail to raise our estimation of that age in our own country, which was then in another preparing a Dante and a Giotto.

As an illustration of the theological spirit which up to this time had animated the Church, these sculptures are most important; and in their spirituality we recognise, in the words of Dr. Henry, that "the schoolmen of the former period made the scriptures the chief subject of their studies, and the texts of their lectures, as some of them still continued to do, who for that reason were called Bible Divines.—It was in the course of the thirteenth century that the Holy Scriptures, together with those who studied and explained them, fell into great neglect, not to say contempt. The illustrious Roger Bacon inveighed very bitterly against this abuse; and his excellent friend, Robert Greathead, (Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253), wrote a pathetic letter to the Regents in Theology in the University of Oxford on this subject, earnestly entreating them to lay the foundation of theological learning in the study of the Scriptures, and to devote the morning hours to lectures on the Old and New Testaments. But all these remonstrances and

[3] Two hands, of very different merit, are plainly exhibited in these works. Of the best are 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; the remainder, though often of excellent design, are of inferior execution. We must hope that a future and more elaborate examination of these sculptures, with scaffolding and other appliances (wholly wanting in the present) will reveal other and more interesting particulars. They are carved in the same stone employed in the architecture of the Cathedral. They were wrought in the sculptor's workshop, and subsequently placed in their positions; this fact is plainly shown in the wings of No. 11, across which the joints of the stone were not adjusted in the building exactly as they had been wrought in the workshop.

exhortations had little or no effect." It was in the latter part of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, that the extravagant devotion of the schoolmen to the study of Aristotle, while it perverted the science of Theology, was fatal, also, to her handmaidens, the Arts; and paved the way for all that decline and triviality into which they fell rapidly in the following century.

The intellectual energy of more than six centuries, in this country, had made religion its chief business; by institutions, by predications, and by illustrations of all kinds, from Bede and Alfred to Robert Greathead. Latterly a more popular method had been adopted, and the imagination was engaged and amused by allegorical representations of the great doctrines of the faith. This great prelate (Robert Greathead) embraced this method, and amongst many theological works, "de Septem Vitiis et Remediis" — "the Pricke of Conscience," and others, he wrote the "Chateau d'Amour," a poem which, under the ideas of chivalry, represents the fundamental articles of the Christian belief, and has the air of a system of divinity written by a troubadour [4]—in effect, the Pilgrim's Progress of the thirteenth century.—Robert Mannynge (about 1300) translated many works into English rhyme; amongst others, "Meditacyuns of the Soper of our Lord Jhesu, and also of hys Passyun, and eke of the Peÿnes of his swete Modyr Mayden Marye, the which made yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardinall."

But the prevalent defect of letters made other still more popular illustrations necessary for the great end. The powerful aid of the fine arts—the mute eloquence of the pencil, the chisel, and the line and rule—was largely invoked; and even histrionic art was made the vehicle of religious instruction. Such elements of education of the public mind were well calculated to produce the sculptures of Lincoln.

[4] Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i., p. 73, tells us that in the Bodleian are two MSS. of this poem; one thus entitled, "Ce est la vie de D: Jh'u de sa humanité, fet e ordiné de Saint Robert Grossetete ke fut eveque de Nichole" (the *French* for Lincoln).

In attempting to trace the intention of these sculptures, and the scriptural and noble manner in which it appears to have been carried out, so unexceptionable to the most austere Reformer, it is hoped the reader will pardon the presumption of a layman in handling these sacred things, and in suggesting to better judgments those interpretations which his acquaintance with the language of art enables him professionally to offer. The texts occur so naturally from the consideration of the individual subjects, and their significant symbolism, that their citation can hardly be hazardous, at least as a guide, and must ever be edifying,—treating, as these works do, of things "which the Angels delight to look into."

The reader acquainted with the architecture of this age (the 13th) will readily follow the customary arrangement of the Triforium, which placed two arches (each inclosing their foliated openings) over the single bay of the pier arches of the nave. This arrangement offers one complete spandril and two half-spandrils in each; the latter formed by the up-shooting column which carries the main ribs of the vaulted ceiling. Thus the five bays of the Angel Choir (more properly called the Presbyterium) contained fifteen spaces on either side, north and south, which had to be adorned by the sculptor, making thirty in all, and forming a beautiful frieze of 118 feet on either side.

Finally, in approaching the explanation of this solemn and beautiful cycle of the Revelations of God, we may well quote the Epilogue of Paul's Epistle to the Romans:—

"Now to Him that is of power to stablish you according to my Gospel, to the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest; and by the Scriptures of the Prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of Faith;

"To God only wise be glory, through Jesus Christ, for ever, Amen."

Plate I.

No. 1.—This angel, the first of the series, in a small scale, and with a minute scroll, appears in the *day-spring;* the south-east angle of the Presbyterium (somewhat darkened by its position, as is the opposite one, No. 30, the Revelations); symbolising in this circumstance, that comparative obscurity in which the Promises of the Almighty were, and for the future are, shadowed forth;—then the "hope" only of the Promise, and now to be confirmed by faith and patience. This angel may be regarded as the epitomised symbol of the covenant of promise to Abraham and the Patriarchs, from the beginning of the world, of the coming of the Messiah.

No. 2.—The Patriarch David plainly appears in this figure, in his spiritual, his prophetic, and his poetical characters; as the type of that King of Righteousness who should "sit upon the throne of his kingdom for ever:" apotheosised as it were, with extended wings, and sitting upon clouds, his harp in his left, his right (in royal Gothic fashion and feudal guise, inevitable in the 13th century) akimbo, crowned and enthroned.

"The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; He will not turn from it; Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne;" Ps. cxxxii. 11; and John, vii. 42.

No. 3.—An angel holds a scroll of much greater extent than the first, seeming to announce those plainer and more developed prophecies exhibited to mankind by the inspired writings of David, and to foretel the certain advent of the Messiah, according to the expression of Peter, "which salvation the prophets have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you. Searching diligently of what people, or of what period, the spirit of Christ which was in them did signify," &c. &c.

Plate II.

No. 4.—An angel in a bold action, remarkable for the energy of its expression, sounds the trumpet, as telling that "in his seed should all the nations of the earth be blessed:"

Printed by Hullmandel & Walton

S. Hugh.

FIGURE
. ON .
S W.
Turret
OF
Lincoln
Cathedral.

S. Smith.
Photographer,
36 Steephill,
Lincoln.

"The fame of David went out into all lands;" 1 Chron. xiv. 17;—"Praise the Lord, proclaim his name;" Ps. xii. 4;—"Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed;" Ps. lxxxi. 3, &c. &c.

No. 5.—An angel of remarkable corpulency and of well designed composition of attitude and drapery, with a scroll of much larger dimension than the foregoing, seems to tell of the "wisdom and prosperity" of Solomon, which exceeded "the fame;" 1 Kings, x. 7;—of the king who "made silver" to be "in Jerusalem as stones;" 2 Chron. ix. 27;—of "the meat of his table"—"the sitting of his servants"—"the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel"—and "his cup-bearers."

The scriptural significance of this fatness (however quaint in the figure here given), as applying to spiritual as well as temporal things, will be acknowledged by the reader. See Gen. xxvii. 28; Ps. lxiii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 14. Solomon in all his glory, the magnificence of the kingdom of Israel in its political as well as its spiritual prosperity, could hardly, perhaps, have been more aptly expressed than by the instinctive Lincoln sculptor.

No. 6.—An angel exhibiting a scroll, with all the solemnity of a settled purpose, may possibly allude to the prophecy of Abijah,—that for the sins of Solomon, the kingdom should be rent like the garment of Jeroboam, "for thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee;" 1 Kings, xi. 31.

Plate III.

No. 7 proclaims the verification of this prophecy in a less questionable manner. The kingdom "divided;" the "halting between two opinions;" 1 Kings, xviii. 21; the two-fold doctrines, of the Lord God and Baal: the sins of Rehoboam and Jeroboam—of Jerusalem and Samaria—are aptly and ingeniously typified by the double trumpet. The quaint and vulgar attitude of this figure is one possibly common to the performers on this instrument in the 13th century; the expression of the face and limbs is admirably rendered, and

contrasts singularly, both in this and No. 4, with the grave and imposing character of the prophetic angels.

No. 8, with *pipe* and *tabret*, the monster at his feet, for the first time, (till now the angels have been seated on clouds), admirable in composition and significance of character, is hardly less so in its expression of the deplorable state of decline and sin into which the Chosen People had fallen ;— so emphatically expressed by Isaiah, v. 11, 12, 13, "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them ; and the harp and the viol, the *tabret* and *pipe*, and wine, are in their feasts : but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. Therefore my people are gone into captivity," &c. &c.

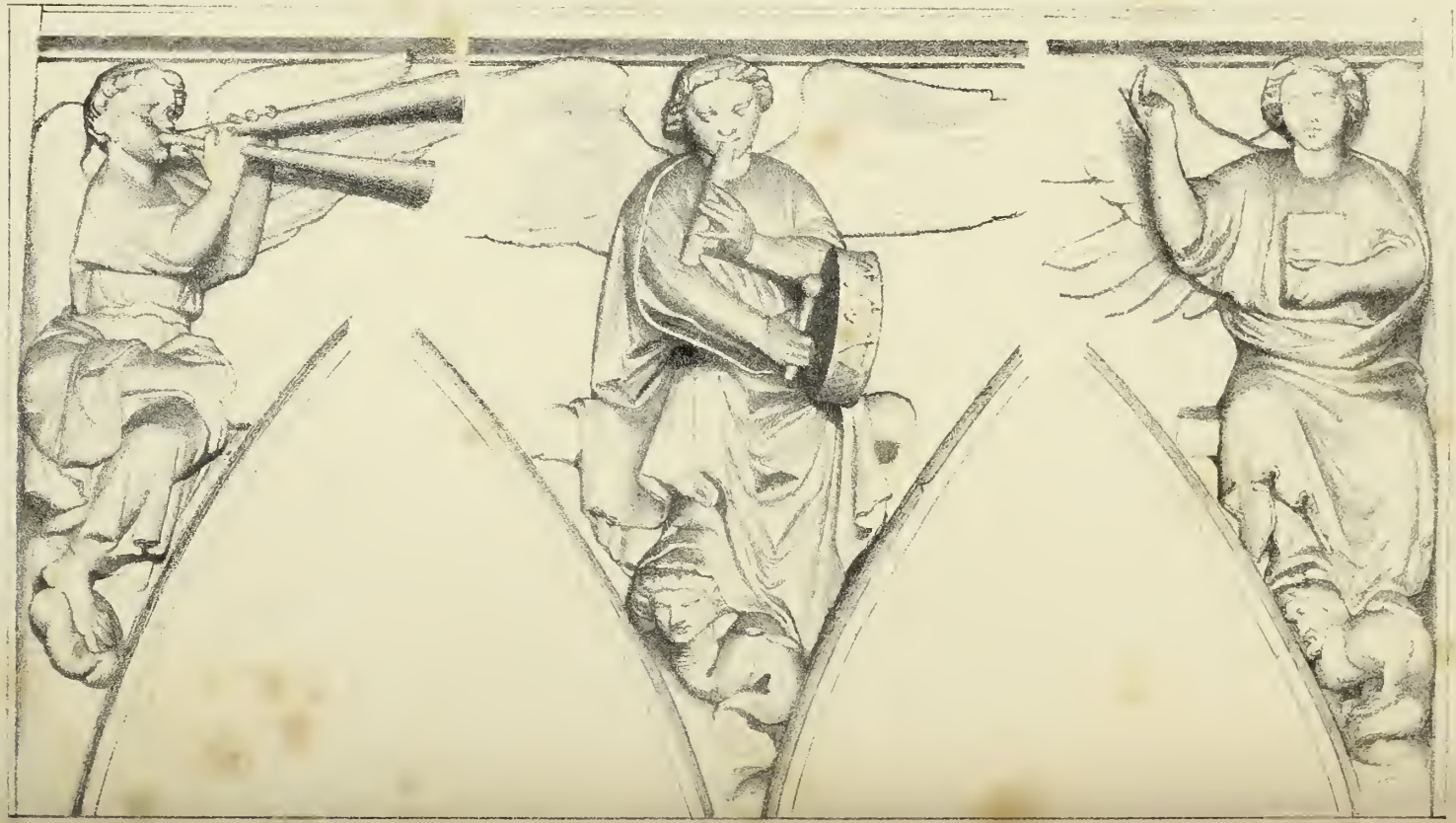
No. 9 is, doubtless, the Angel of Daniel; he holds in his left the *sealed book* (expressed by a band across it) cast into the Hiddekel, and raises his right significantly, referring to the vision described Chap. xii. 7. "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half, and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished ; and I heard, but I understood not : then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things ? and he said, Go thy way, Daniel, for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end."

Under his feet is again the monster, the Old Dragon, with a bearded head and tiara, as possibly referring to the idolatrous Babylonians or the apostate Jews.

Plate IV.

No. 10.—An angel reads with a holy concern and earnestness (which the original only can fully convey), from a scroll held in his hand. An *abortion* is seen under his feet.

The prophet Isaiah could hardly have been more fully described than by these symbols : and we call to mind, "This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of blasphemy :



for the *children* are come *to the birth*, and there *is not strength to bring forth;*" Isaiah, xxxvii. 3. Deep anxiety is depicted in the countenance, as if reading the letter of Rabshakeh, which the good king Hezekiah spread before the Lord.

No. 11 is a no less bold and singular type of Ezekiel, exhibiting the same imaginative aptness of illustration which we witness throughout these works, but very naturally by the feudal machinery of their day. A youthful, robust angel smiles as he offers the lure with his right to a large falcon perched upon the glove or gauntlet of his left. He holds both playfully at a respectful distance, as unwilling to provoke his formidable beak and talons; an attitude that gives a grace to the whole composition; which is ample, enterprising, and, though somewhat familiar, is highly pleasing. The manners of the times must excuse this type of feudal nobility. "No *Gentleman*," says Warton, Eng. Poetry, vol. i., p. 169, "appeared without a falcon on his fist, unless going to battle. At the royal Palace of Clarendon, the Soldan is represented as meeting Richard with a falcon on his fist. In the tapestry of the Norman Conquest, Harold is exhibited on horseback in the same manner." The sculptor of Lincoln could give no greater nobility to this image than by the attribute of the falcon. The throne, or faldistory, is of a peculiar form, having two horns, the motive of which is not so plain, unless it may be supposed to apply to the Babylonian and Egyptian Empires. At the feet is the usual monster.

This daring composition appears to be suggested by the 17th Chapter of Ezekiel, in which "a riddle and a parable are put forth unto the House of Israel," to wit, the eagle of Babylon, which cropped off the twigs of the cedar-trees of Lebanon, &c. &c.

No. 12 is plainly the Angel of Jeremiah, with an emphatic expression. He holds his "Lamentations" mournfully in his hands, as if penetrated with grief and despondency at their contents. The monster is still at the feet.

And thus are the four major Prophets significantly represented by the sculptor of Lincoln.

Plate V.

These having been satisfactorily conveyed in the preceding angels, the present (No. 13) seems to be intended as the epitome of the twelve minor Prophets. An angel in ecstatic action, and with a joyful expression of countenance, points the finger energetically to the passages of the book which showed that "the time of the Promise drew nigh;" Acts, vii. 17;—that "the Lord whom ye seek shall *suddenly* come to his Temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in;" Mal. iii. 1. See Micah, v. 2; Zech. iii. 8; and xiv. 1, &c. &c.

From under the feet issues a monster of peculiar and disgusting deformity, the last that appears in the series; signifying the final expulsion of "the Dragon, that old serpent," the bruising of whose head was now about to be accomplished; the Father of lies "cast out" for ever.

"And then at last our bliss
Full and perfect is,
But now begins; for, from this happy day,
The old Dragon, under ground
In straiter limits bound,
Not half so far casts his usurped sway;
And, wroth to see his kingdom fail,
Swinges the scaly horror of his folded tail.

"The oracles are dumb;
No voice or hideous hum
Runs thro' the arched roof, in words deceiving.
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance or breathed spell
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell."

Milton's Hymn on Christ's Nativity.

No. 14.—An angel of a grave and priestly aspect—a figure of the utmost dignity, and grandeur of design—holds towards the young Messiah (No. 15) and his Blessed Mother, a small figure with the hands upraised in prayer. A napkin envelopes reverentially the hands of the angel, as fearing to touch so sacred an emblem (apparently the soul in the act of prayer) with unclean hands.[5] The story of revelation interrupted

[5] Cicognara sulla Scultura, v. i. pl. xxxviii, p. 473, gives a bas-relief in the front of the Cathedral at Strasbourg of the 13th century, over the south door,

13.

14.

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The Angel Choir - South Side

by this apostrophe ; the first appearance of the soul, and its presentation to its divine Image and Maker; has a sublime in the idea, and a peculiar propriety in this place ; as accompanying the triumph of the Advent, and as the announcement of that Holy One exhibited in the following subject : the soul's rest ; intercessor ; sacrifice ; atonement ; sure hope and Saviour.

The head of a woman under his feet (contrasted with the serpent in the previous subject), possibly alluded to the "Enmity between thee and the woman" (Gen. iii. 15), or to the passage of Galatians, iv. 4, "God sent forth his son made of a woman."

Plate VI.

No. 15 presents a group, of singular purity of design. The artist has relied wholly on the idea, form, and grace of the composition and of the parts ; eschewing every extraneous ornament. No hair, scarcely the flesh, "the nude" or accessory of any kind appears ; an austere but noble plainness characterises the whole, and we are captivated by the intrinsic beauty of the conception, and the execution, unaided by the common resources sought by the vulgar in after-times, when the religious spirit by which these works were inspired, had declined.

The Godhead of the child Jesus appears in the dignity of his attitude and gesture, especially as contrasted with the angelic boy acolyte, who ministers incense to him with officious zeal. With one hand upon his mother's breast, and standing on her lap, He seems affectionately to confess the taking of our human nature upon him ; while with the other he unveils Her whom all generations should henceforth call *Blessed.* Her nobility, modesty, graciousness, and youth, fulfil all the idea of the Virgin mother.

which he considers one of the most ancient representations of the death of the Virgin. In this an Apostle holds up a small figure precisely in the same manner, which he interprets as the soul of the Virgin. This type is not unfrequent in mediæval painting. See description of the paintings of Oreagna (nearly a hundred years posterior to the sculpture of Lincoln) in Kugler's Campo Santo of Pisa. (Hand Book of Painting, part i., p. 71.)

Under her feet is the serpent, according to the prediction that "her seed should bruise its head."

It may safely be proposed to compare this composition with any other known of this or of any previous Christian epoch.

Thus terminates the series occupying the five southern bays of the Presbyterium; and we cross to those of the north side, with the westernmost bay of which the subject continues.

Plate VII.

In this we have most poetically and epigraphically expressed, the one great Sacrifice, the atonement once offered by the Saviour for the sins of man. His cross and passion are concisely told in the crown of thorns held up so compassionately to our regard, and the spear which pierced his side; together with the sponge on the reed; held in a napkin, as a sacred thing; or possibly that of St. Veronica.

The great occasion of this sacrifice is expressed in the centre. The fall of man, represented in the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise, by the indignant cherubim holding the flaming sword. At his feet is again the woman's head, as possibly signifying the primary cause of the fall, and the source of its remedy, and of our salvation.

Thorns and thistles are seen at the feet of the afflicted pair. The energy of action, and the fullness of expression in this composition, will not fail to be remarked, as in the grandest style of epic art.

Plate VIII.

The great doctrine of the Resurrection appears to be presented to us in the most pathetic manner by No. 19. The Saviour, crowned with thorns, opens his garment with his left, and points to the wound in his side.

"Then saith he to Thomas: reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.

"And Thomas answered, and said unto him, My Lord and my God!

"Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed!"

To the left again is the youthful angelic acolyte, who holds up the soul in the spirit of prayer addressed to the Saviour. It will be observed that the Christ is placed in this spandril somewhat differently from the others, the object being that this important and touching symbol should be presented to the congregation assembled westward.

Those who are intimately acquainted with the works of the Italians in the subsequent century, see in this type the condemnation of a sinful world in the *single* finger of the right hand; the benediction being signified by *two*, as in the following angel. And certain it is that Orcagna has so employed this action in the Campo Santo, and M. Angelo, after him, in the Sistine Chapel, in their great pictures of the Judgments. —Which of these interpretations applies to this figure, as representing the God of Mercy, or of Vengeance, must be determined by those better acquainted than myself with the theology of the age, and the examples of mediæval art.

The same elegant symbolism and epigrammatic conciseness which we have remarked in all these works, is conspicuous in No. 20, in which the doctrine of the Judgment to come is so scripturally and significantly expressed. Here are none of the trite and common-place figures, the expanded jaws of hell, and the puerile exhibition of devils and pitchforks, and the frying of the sinners in the flames of the gulf, but an angel, "a pair of balances in his hand" (Rev. vi. 5); weighs the souls "in the balances of justice" (Job, xxxi. 6); the good fall into his lap, the light are scattered. His singular attitude expresses aptly the effort of the weight, and his right in benediction seems to mark the Joy of Angels in the salvation of one sinner.

The following, No. 21, the Angel of Incense, seems to propitiate the Saviour, and to seek the mitigation of the awful penalties of judgment, through the prayers of the Saints.

"Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way: when his wrath is kindled, but a little; blessed are all they that put their trust in him."—Ps. ii. 12.

"And the angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne."—Rev. viii. 3.

The censer is thrown gracefully forward, the action of the hands is true, and full of delicacy and intelligence of design; and the whole figure of the angel occupies the spandril most efficiently.

Plate IX.

In this bay, we have plainly the doctrine of rewards and punishments, and the increase of joy and peace in believing. (Rom. xv. 13)—"The peace of God, which passeth understanding."

The palm branch in the left hand of the angel, No. 22, is conventionally significant of martyrdom, and may refer to the angel of Revelations (xx. 4): "And I saw *thrones*, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were *beheaded* for the witness of Jesus, and for the Word of God."

No. 24 may possibly refer to Rev. xiii. 8: "And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the Book of Life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." And again (Rev. xx. 11): "And I saw a great white *throne*, and him that sat on it; from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened, and another book was opened, which is the Book of Life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead who were in it; and death and the grave delivered up the dead who were in them, and they were judged every man according to their works. And death and the grave were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. And

26
27

whoever *was not found written in the Book of Life*, was cast into the lake of fire."

Nothing can be more angelic than the calm assurance of the angel (No. 22), or the anxious search of the angel (No. 24), as applied to the passages before us.

These two figures appear to refer especially to No. 23, an angel, having a starry crown on his head, holding crowns in either hand, and smiling, as ready to reward the just, and holding up to all "the recompense of the reward."—"Ye shall receive a crown of glory which fadeth not away." (Peter, v. 4).—"There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness," (2 Tim. iv. 8).—"For the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the grave shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of the life. And they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." (John, v. 28, 29.)

Sweetness, dignity, and modesty are conspicuous in the aspect of this beautiful figure. The naïve innocence of the attitude, the gracious turn of the head, and the smile which seems to say—"I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." (Rom. ix. 15.) The grand symmetry of the attitude, so entirely relieved from all driness by variety in the lines of the drapery, and those quiet indications of expression, all display the great master.

A singular type appears under the angel's feet, being two heads, male and female, proceeding from one body, possibly alluding to those rewards as equally offered to both sexes, or as representing the married life:—or the final unity of nature in respect of sex in heaven, where "they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God." (Matt. xxii. 30.)

Plate X.

This bay seems entirely devoted to Praise, the joys of Heaven, the reign of Peace. The enthusiasm of the performers (Nos. 25 and 26) may be conceived by their attitudes, but they must be visited in the original to feel the earnestness

of their movement. They may possibly refer to Rev. xv. 2: "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty: just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints," &c. &c. No. 27, crowned with stars, and holding a palm branch in the left, and a scroll in the left, appears to refer to Rev. xiv. 6.

"And I saw another angel in the midst of the Heavens, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto those who dwell in the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying, with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come; worship him who made the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." The direction towards the congregation below, remarked in the Christ, No. 19, is given also to this figure, and for the same reason.

Plate XI.

Gives us the fifth and last bay, at the north-east end, opposite to the commencement of the series at the south-east. No. 28 appears to form part of the preceding group, crowned with stars, sounding the harp, which has a remarkable drapery at the lower extremity, possibly the case or clothing of the instrument, not yet removed by the graceful performer. This figure may possibly refer to Rev. xiv. 1: "And I heard a voice from heaven, loud as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder, and I heard the voice of *harpers, harping with their harps:* and they sung a new song before the throne, and before the four living creatures, and the elders: and no man could learn that song," &c. &c.

To these last figures it is difficult to assign a more definite purpose than is here suggested: they seem to present the triumph of the Christian covenant, the acknowledgments of God's mercies, the daily sacrifice of praise, and prayer, and peace in believing, the Hallelujah which should terminate this noble homily. The following, No. 29, is more decidedly significant, as the angel of Revelations, xii. 1: "And there

appeared a great wonder in Heaven ; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." Jesus Christ is called the "Sun of Righteousness" Mal. iv. 2 ; He enlightens, comforts, and quickens His people ; the moon signifies the Church, clothed with the righteousness of Christ, purity of doctrine, and a holy conversation, condemning and undervaluing worldly things, and the Mosaical worship. The Church appears in the moon in the form of a female head, and thence a Scroll depending, and containing the doctrines, of which she is the sacred depository :—and exceedingly grand and impressive is this symmetrical symbol in the hands of our Lincoln sculptor.

No. 30 is the last angel, possibly, of the last chapter of Revelations xxii. 10 : "And the angel saith unto me, *Seal not* the saying of the Prophecy of this book : for the time is at hand. He who is unjust, let him be unjust still : and he who is filthy, let him be filthy still : and he who is righteous, let him be righteous still : and he who is holy, let him be holy still. Lo ! I come quickly ; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. *I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.*"—The position of the angel conforms to this passage, as also the scroll held in the hand, much of which is still unrolled.

The apology already offered for the boldness of these interpretations of sacred things, must here be repeated ; as also the wish that they could have been undertaken by more professional persons. They may be accepted meanwhile by the indulgent as sufficient to direct a more careful investigation into the solemn and important intention of their subject.

For the style of design and execution in these works of so remote a period little apology need be made ; like the subject of them it is of all time, and with very few exceptions might be applied to works of the present day ; and ample compensation for all defects will be found in the vigour, freshness, and originality of idea which abound in them.

They betray no trace whatever of the stiff Byzantine style, so frequent in the English sculpture of the preceding century,[6] and which was still adhered to in the works of the contemporary Italians, Cimabue, Gaddi, Duccio, and others: no formal constraint or superstitious enthusiasm, nor any undue employment of allegory (with which *they* are reproached), offend us in the sculptures of Lincoln; all the freedom and naturalness attributed subsequently to Giotto, who was but an infant when these works were executed, are here anticipated, and strike us in every instance. Complete emancipation from any known prototype or prevailing manner, is apparent; the artist dealt with his subject and material with all the originality and freedom of a master.

Unrestrained by classical doctrine or example, the mediæval sculptor availed himself of every resource which imagination could present to convey the meaning of his work; as in the drama of the revival in this country, all means were lawful to his ends. The nice distinctions of conceit and legitimate poetic license were not scrupulously regarded in his illustrations, since the means of his explanation were limited; for convention had not (as in the classical art) so decisively prescribed the characteristics of the popular subjects of art, as to make them immediately recognisable. Indeed, it was found necessary, about the middle of the thirteenth century (after the great experience of Wells Cathedral, in which they were omitted), to append scrolls, on which the names or explanatory passages of Scripture were inscribed: which these of Lincoln, probably contained.

Of course the Gothic quaintness and the barbaric feudal association are inevitable: the royalty of David is expressed by the imposing swagger of the Gothic King; and the nobility of the Angel of Ezekiel, by the attribute of the "ars venatoria," — the falcon and the gloves. The absence, also, of academic study often presents attitudes and arrangements which shock our habits; but to make up for these defects, other qualities, new and at all times rare

[6] See the south gate of Malmsbury, by Roger of Salisbury.

to be met with, impress us throughout;—a religious purity of thought and a natural gladness; so much idea and so little ornament; simplicity of attitude, and gentle significance of gesture; the all-sufficiency of the drapery in mass and dignity, made out of the simple vesture of the acolyte, yet varying the lines, and giving action and expression to the figures. The heads and limbs of the angels present a seraphic character,—neither sex is distinguishable; the heads are crowned with stars; awfulness, anxiety, serenity, and even playfulness; grace and dignity will be found in the different subjects, accordant with their position and circumstance. The surpassing composition, No. 15, may suffice to celebrate a School. The science of composition will be admired in many of them as of signal merit, and the manner in which the wings are folded, and the composition adapted to the whole or the half spandril, is always ingenious and admirable—the reader restoring in imagination the extended wings, which occupy their localities so happily, and regretting (as he certainly will do) their necessary curtailment in the lithographs.

In the delineation of these works, the accomplished pencil of Mr. Stevens has been engaged;[7] and his devotion, in Italy, to the works of Giotto and the masters of the fourteenth century, (which he assures me are surpassed by those of the Lincoln sculptor,) renders his assistance of the greatest value. The smallness of the scale in which they have been executed, has unavoidably obscured many of those expressions which only the careful observation of the originals can appreciate.

The recognition of the merits of these sculptures, no less as works of art than of religious sentiment and scriptural learning, renders the question of the epoch of their performance and of the hands by which they were probably wrought, of the highest interest to those who delight in the aspirations of our countrymen, in every age, to honourable renown, in all the branches of intellectual and of chivalrous prowess.[8]

[7] The whole of these lithographs are by this gentleman, and the Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, are from his own drawings: the remainder are from mine.—C. R. C.

[8] All English experience confirms the observation of Cicognara, vol. i., p. 368,

Allowing the reasonable time required for the preparation of the design and the maturing of the execution, there can be little doubt that, finished in 1282, these sculptures must have been determined about 1275. At that period, one only name is recorded by the Italians (always jealous of priority in this walk of science) in the annals of art, namely, that of Nicolas Pisani, as signal, and capable of works of this kind. Cimabue, the father of Italian painting, was not born till 1240, and his renowned pupil, Giotto, till 1276.

It appears that the first work of Nicolas, the sarcophagus of St. Dominico, begun 1225, was finished in 1231. In 1267, he was engaged in carving the stalls of the new church at Sienna; having, the year before, completed the famous pulpit at Pisa. No suspicion is entertained of his employment, (nor of those renowned cotemporary painters) north of the Alps. His son, Giovanni, and his School, could not have had the smallest hand in them, since the sculptures at Orvieto (executed by them), were not undertaken till 1300. We owe to the Chevalier Cicognara very long and elaborate researches into the history of the early sculpture of Italy, and engravings, chiefly illustrating the merits of the Pisani; and we may refer to the plates of his first volume, from the plates VII. to XVIII., in proof that they are wholly of another style; inspired, and often directly adopted, from the antique Roman sarcophagi; without the originality apparent in the School of Lincoln, and England generally; and having, in fact, nothing in common, at the period in question, with the Schools north of the Alps. The figures of the Pisani sculptures, crowded, and piled upon each other, after the manner of the decline of classical art; and relating to the common places, the torments of hell, the miracles of St. Dominico, the visit of the Magi, the Resurrection, &c., bear no comparison

"that the humility of the mediæval artist prevented his appending his name to a devotional work. The renowned names of the Pisani and others are recovered from other sources, and not from their works." We are not, then, surprised at the loss of the names either of the sculptors or architects of Lincoln.—"Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God," "and through the knowledge of Him that hath called us to glory and virtue" —appear to have been the motives and rewards of the mediæval craftsman. According to Vasari, however, most of the early *Italian painters* did inscribe their names.

to the originality of mind or design which this intellectual cycle exhibits, and must be unequivocally pronounced as inferior in conception to our Lincoln sculptures. The comparison of their execution must depend on casts which we may one day hope to obtain.

As may be naturally concluded, the Italian School never emancipated itself from the trammels of the antique, and it is not till we examine the sculptures of Steinbach, at Strasbourg, executed about 1318 (see Cicognara's Plate XXXVIII., figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), and those of England, France, and Germany,[9] that we can discover the peculiar style of the northern school, and recognise our relationship to that, rather than any Italian or Byzantine models of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.[1]

Indeed when we consider the very small number of works in architecture executed in Italy in the thirteenth, compared with those of the North in that age, especially in England, where no fewer than one hundred and fifty-seven religious houses were built, besides additions to almost every church (cathedral, or others) during the reign of Henry III. alone; (1216 to 1272); and that the much descanted churches of Sienna and Orvieto were the chief works of that century in Italy; and the fact, that wherever they commenced works of magnitude, as at Assisi, and Milan, and Florence, the Italians themselves invited and employed the more practised artists of Germany; we are not surprised at the greater advancement in that age in the North; and we protest against the pretensions of the modern writers of Italy to superiority or priority in art in that century. Very little pains in comparing the works of which we have indications by engravings or casts, and the consideration of the respective histories of England and Italy in the thirteenth century, will force us to acknowledge the arguments which the sculptures of Wells, Salisbury, Lincoln, and others, adduce to prove that there

[9] "Quicquid in auri, argenti, cupri et ferri, lignorum lapidumve subtilitate solers laudat Germania," are the words of the Monk Theophilus. See Cicognara, vol. i. p. 366.

[1] It is astonishing that Cicognara should have taken the miserable figures of Mars and Hercules, figs. 1, 2, evidently the works of modern hands of the worst style, for German works of the 14th century.

were Schools in the North of a distinct and original character; naturally resulting from a much more extensive patronage and practice of these arts than existed, in that century, in the South.

And it is reasonable to suppose that the moral elevation which distinguishes the biography of a Greathead or a Roger Bacon, in learning and religion ; and that the "upright heart and pure" which are so conspicuous in the poetical minds of the North, must necessarily have stamped their impress upon the productions of art, (so soon as they were emancipated from the trammels of pupillage, and they could speak for themselves,) no less characteristically under the hand of the unimpassioned Saxon than under that of the more sanguine and imaginative Italian.

In addition to the names of English artists already known through Walpole and other writers, the researches of the Rev. Joseph Hunter bring much light to this interesting question.[2] That gentleman has recovered the names of nine sculptors,[3] three architects or contractors,[4] and two painters,[5] (all, but one, of English names) engaged by Edward I. in the execution of those exquisite works, the Crosses of the good Queen Eleanor, who died in 1290 ; shortly after the completion of the Angel Choir. (See Archæologia, Vol. xxix.)

Indeed history amply confirms these evidences, and we read that several of the clergy, and particularly the monks, applied to the pious work (as it was then justly esteemed) of adorning their churches with sculpture.[6] Walter of Colchester,

[2] xxixth vol. Archæologia.

[3] Richard de Stowe.
John de Battle.
Dyminge de Legeri.
Michael de Canterbury.
Richard de Crundall.
Roger de Crundall.
William de Ireland.
Alexander le Imaginator, or de Abyndon.
Master William Torrel.

[4] William de Hoo.
William de Suffolk.
Roger de Newmarsh.

[5] William de Durham.
John de Bristol.

[6] The religious spirit of the mediæval artist is well described by a fragment of Ghiberti, cited by Cicognara, vol. i., p. 368. Speaking of a sculptor of Cologne of about 1400 :—

"In Germany, in the city of Cologne, there was a sculptor of great skill; he was of an excellent talent, and lived with the Duke of Anjou, who gave him many works in gold to do; amongst others was a relief in gold, which with every pains he conducted wonderfully. He was perfect in his works, and equal to the ancient Greeks. He made the heads wonderfully, and every naked part; there was no fault but that his figures might be a little

sacrist of the Abbey of St. Alban's, is celebrated by Matthew Paris, his cotemporary and monk of the same abbey, as an admirable statuary; and several of his works are described as extremely beautiful.[7]

Again, a hundred years later, we have a remarkable evidence to the fact of works of statuary transported from England into Italy,[8] which may be deemed a full and sufficient proof of the merit attributed by Italians themselves to the English School, at a time that Giotto and his followers were in such high reputation, and when Orcagna (1380) had just completed his pictures in the Campo Santo of Pisa. In the year "1382, Richard II. granted a licence to Cosmo Gentilis, the Pope's collector in England, to export three great images, one of St. Peter, of St. Paul, and of the Virgin, and a small image of the Holy Trinity, without paying any duty or custom; which seems to indicate that certain customs were then payable on the exportation of such commodities."

But the portrait of Richard II., (of about 1385, probably an unique work of this date in Europe,) is a very remarkable specimen of the arts in Englanh at that time, and offers a conclusive and tangible evidence no where sufficiently insisted on, of the merits of the English School of painting at the period of its infancy still in Italy.[9]

short. He was a most able and learned master, and excellent in his art. I saw many of his figures; they had a beautiful air; he was indeed most learned. He saw some work of his done for a public place, in which he had used his utmost skill and love, altered by the Duke, and all his labour thrown away. He cast himself upon his knees, and, raising his eyes and his hands to heaven, he exclaimed, 'O Lord, who governest Heaven and earth, and madest all things, it becomes not my ignorance to follow other than Thee. Have mercy on me!' So having said, he immediately disposed of everything for the love of God, and retired to a mountain where there was a monastery, of which he became a member; doing penance all the rest of his days. He lived long, and died in the time of Pope Martin.

"Certain youths who studied the arts of sculpture told me how entirely learned he was in the arts, and how he passed his time. He was indeed learned, a great draftsman, and very docile and kind. These youths who desired his instruction used to go to him begging his advice, and he received them with the greatest humility, giving them every instruction, showing them proportions and measures, and many examples; for he was most perfect, and of the greatest humility. He died in that monastery, and was indeed most excellent in his art, and of a most holy life."

[7] Matthew Paris, Vitæ Abbatum, pp. 80, 81.

[8] Henry's Hist. vol. viii., p. 296.

[9] See Ornaments of Churches Considered.

Although it is not the intention here to attempt the description of the other sculptures which adorn the Cathedral of Lincoln, the omission of their recommendation, as of the highest Archaeological interest, would not be pardoned by the pilgrim to its venerable precincts. As this Cathedral contains the most admirable specimens we possess (so far as I have ascertained) of the climax of the art of sculpture in this country, so it displays those of its dawn and of its absolute decline amongst us; each of which deserves a special illustration.

The frieze over the western doors, relating to the Old and New Testaments, is pronounced by Gough to be of Saxon workmanship; and I entirely coincide in the opinion of that learned antiquary. First, from the evidences furnished by the manner of their insertion in the front, built by the Norman Bishop Remigius, about the year 1088; secondly, from the disrespect shown by his successor, Bishop Alexander, only thirty years after, to the work (not of his Norman predecessor, but *only of the despised Saxon*) in breaking down the centre and key of the subject (now happily preserved by the learned and courteous architect of the Cathedral, Mr. Willson) for the sake of his new door-case; and thirdly, from the internal evidences of the work itself. A detailed investigation into these arguments, and of the very curious and original symbols contained in this interesting frieze, would well repay the lover of Saxon remains; and would go far to establish an unique example of the attainments in the art of that revered ancestry.

Over the west door are eleven kings, under canopies, from William the Conqueror to Edward III., reasonably considered to have been placed there under the active but tasteless superintendance of the Treasurer Welbourne, about 1370. The costume and details may possibly contain some archæological interest; but so wretched are the design and workmanship of these carvings, that they furnish matter of painful edification in tracing the rapid decline, which may be effected upon the sensitive existence of fine art during one century only.

The causes of this deplorable decay during this period,

may be found sufficient to account for it. The salt of the Church had lost its savour,—the heart-affecting lessons of Holy Writ had ceased to be the study of the clergy ; scholastic divinity and the *so-called* philosophy of Aristotle, had superseded the Scriptures. The artist, no longer taught by them, followed the subtleties of the new schools, in cold refinements and trivialities. The pomp of heraldry had usurped the places which scriptural illustration had hitherto occupied. Military rapine and all its accompanying ills of pestilence and famine in the fourteenth, combined to dash the hopeful advancement which art had promised in the thirteenth century.

Of that happier period, however, three other specimens are to be remarked in the east end ; first, upon the face of the altar of the holy sepulchre are three Knights Templars, admirably composed and executed ; the heads however have been sadly defaced. They will repay the artist in their sentiment and expression, in their well contrived groupings, and the artistic arrangement of their accessories.

The south gateway of the Presbyterium is an excellent (and in England unique) example of the porch so frequent in France ; it is profusely adorned with sculpture, described by Mr. Wild in p. 32, and in Plate XIV., fig. 3. It is also referred to by Flaxman in his lecture on Composition, p. 168, Plate XXXIX. It represents the Judgment. Though of the prosperous period of art, its merit as compared with the Angels of the choir may well be questioned ; at all events it is clearly (as are also the four statues in the porch) by another hand.

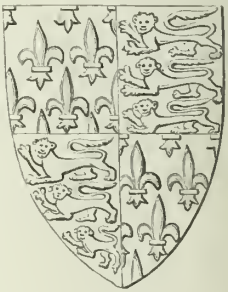
Against the south-eastern pier is a group of the King and Queen, Edward and Eleanor, of consummate grandeur and interest. The King bears his shield and tramples on the enemy. The beloved wife of his youth follows him closely. There is a freedom and energy of style in these figures which are rarely seen in any period. Both have unhappily lost their heads, and that within these few years. In the next pier is a statue of a Queen, who may possibly be designed for Edward's second spouse, the French Princess Margaret ; and

this conjecture is strengthened by the expression of fashion and refinement, even to the fingers' ends, which the sculptor attributed to her country. The neglect and decay of these fine works, so interesting to history and to art, is a reproach. A little cost and pains would suffice to secure that which is now subject to every vulgar spoliation. Casts in plaster should be taken, and our Museum enriched by these precious works which not only illustrate our history, and do honour to our countrymen, but may also help to resuscitate the noblest exercise of a now declining art

C. R. COCKERELL.

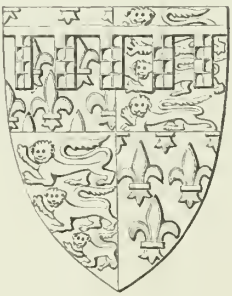
3. Lionel Earl of Ulster.

2. Edward, Prince of Wales.



1. King Edward III.

6. Henry, Duke of Lancaster.



5. Edmund of Langley.

4. John, Earl of Richmond.

These escutcheons, illustrative of the Marks of Cadency borne by the Plantagenet family, are numbered in the order in which they appear on the tomb, commencing from the West, or head of the monument.

A SHORT DISSERTATION

UPON THE MONUMENTS AT THE UPPER END OF THE NORTH-EASTERN PART OF THE PRESBYTERY (OR CHOIR OF ANGELS) IN THE CATHEDRAL OF LINCOLN.

BY THE VEN. THE ARCHDEACON OF LINCOLN.

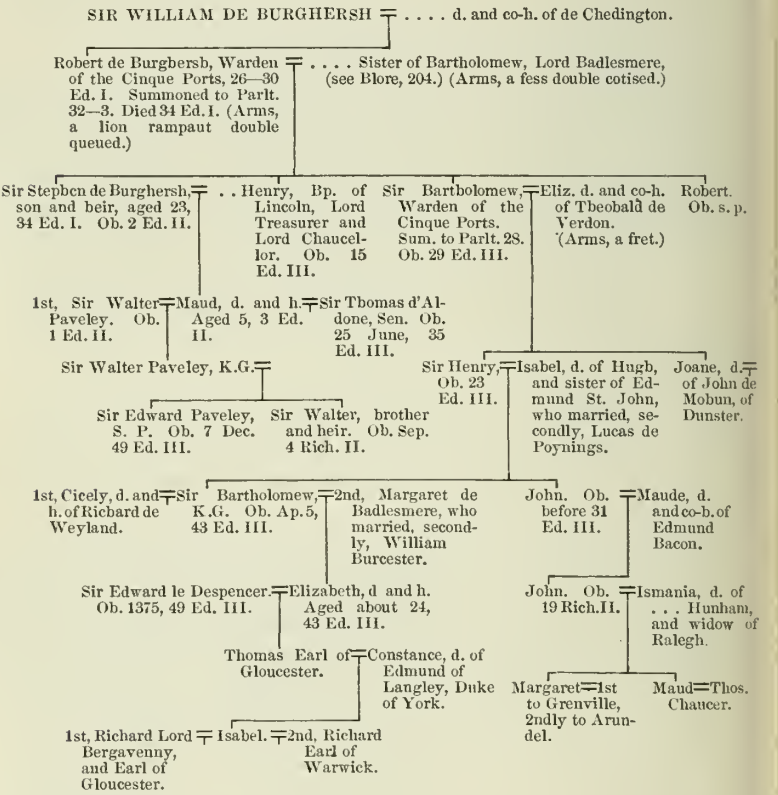
In approaching the subject of the monuments called the Burghersh Tombs, we should be impressed with this opinion, that they are designed to convey, through the instrumentality of armorial bearings (for they bear no inscription, either on brass or stone), not only the alliances of the persons to whose memory they were erected, but also to point out the sovereign, the princes, and nobles, under whom and with whom each of these persons principally served in the course of their life.

This impression will assist materially in ascertaining whether the following statement lead to a just conclusion, and correctly appropriate each tomb to the memory of the person for whom it was erected.

The monuments in question have, by different writers, been supposed to commemorate various individuals. Dugdale has stated, and with apparent truth, that the tomb and monument in the north wall of this part of the Cathedral is to the memory of Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, brother of the bishop of that name. On the contrary, Browne Willis, in his Ichnography of this Church, assigns it to Leo, Lord Welles, slain in 1461. Now, independently of the style of architecture, which is the Decorated, the monument has, in its details, no reference to that family; and, by examining the armorial bearings, which form a prominent feature in its decoration, it will appear to be, as Dugdale has asserted, the tomb of Bartholomew, Baron Burghersh.

As the evidence which I have to adduce is contained in the armorial bearings, let me present the most copious pedigree of this noble family which has come to our know-

ledge, extracted from a work of great research, Streatfeild's "Excerpta Cantiana," circulated by its author amongst private friends and connexions. This pedigree will show the heiresses introduced into the family of Burghersh, and their other alliances, and therefore will account for the bearings to be expected on their tombs.


SIR WILLIAM DE BURGHERSH = ... d. and co-h. of de Chedington.
Robert de Burgbersh, Warden of the Cinque Ports, 26—30 Ed. I. Summoned to Parlt. 32—3. Died 34 Ed. I. (Arms, a lion rampaut double queued.)
. . . . Sister of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere, (see Blore, 204.) (Arms, a fess double cotised.)
Sir Stephen de Burghersh, son and heir, aged 23, 34 Ed. I. Ob. 2 Ed. II.
. . Henry, Bp. of Lincoln, Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor. Ob. 15 Ed. III.
Sir Bartholomew, Warden of the Cinque Ports. Sum. to Parlt. 28. Ob. 29 Ed. III.
Eliz. d. and co-h. of Theobald de Verdon. (Arms, a fret.)
Robert. Ob. s. p.
1st, Sir Walter Paveley. Ob. 1 Ed. II.
Maud, d. and h. Aged 5, 3 Ed. II.
Sir Thomas d'Aldone, Sen. Ob. 25 June, 35 Ed. III.
Sir Walter Paveley, K.G.
Sir Henry, Ob. 23 Ed. III.
Isabel, d. of Hugh, and sister of Edmund St. John, who married, secondly, Lucas de Poynings.
Joane, d. of John de Mohun, of Dunster.
Sir Edward Paveley, S. P. Ob. 7 Dec. 49 Ed. III.
Sir Walter, brother and heir. Ob. Sep. 4 Rich. II.
1st, Cicely, d. and h. of Richard de Weyland.
Sir Bartholomew, K.G. Ob. Ap. 5, 43 Ed. III.
2nd, Margaret de Badlesmere, who married, secondly, William Burcester.
John. Ob. before 31 Ed. III.
Maude, d. and co-h. of Edmund Bacon.
Sir Edward le Despencer. Ob. 1375, 49 Ed. III.
Elizabeth, d and h. Aged about 24, 43 Ed. III.
John. Ob. 19 Rich. II.
Ismania, d. of . . . Hunham, and widow of Ralegh.
Thomas Earl of Gloucester.
Constance, d. of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York.
Margaret = 1st to Grenville, 2ndly to Arundel.
Maud = Thos. Chaucer.
1st, Richard Lord Bergavenny, and Earl of Gloucester.
Isabel.
2nd, Richard Earl of Warwick.

The Sir Bartholomew, Baron Burghersh, mentioned in this pedigree, is stated in Lodge's extinct Peerage to have been elder brother of the Bishop of Lincoln. He was the third baron, and latterly had the addition of "senior" attached to his name. From the account given of him, he was in the wars of Scotland and France during the reign of Edward the Second,—in the retinue, be it remarked, of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere, his kinsman, by the mother's side; but in the

15th of the same reign, joining Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (whose armorial bearings are on the monument), after the battle of Boroughbridge, he was taken prisoner with Lord Badlesmere and sent to the Tower. He was restored to his freedom and rank on the arrival of Queen Isabel and the Prince, and constituted Governor of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports,—trusts conferred upon him by King Edward the Third, in whose reign he became still more highly distinguished, sharing in the glories of Cressy, and is recorded in the Chronicle of Froissart as a Knight conspicuous for courage and humanity. He also filled several important offices, such as that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, Constable of the Tower, &c. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Theobald de Verdon, of Staffordshire, a powerful baron.

We will now give reasons for stating that this tomb was erected to his memory.

Above the head of a recumbent effigy, clad in plate armour, and reclining on his helmet, is this armorial bearing:—a lion rampant, double queued, supported by two angels. This is the coat armour of the Burghersh family, and, by its prominent position on the tomb, applies to the person represented below.

Above this tomb is a rich canopy of three tabernacles, on the spandrils of which are the shields of arms of Edward the Third and his sons; namely, the Black Prince; Lionel, Duke of Clarence; John of Ghent, and Edmund of Langley,—with the shield of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Lincoln, under whom Bartholomew, Baron Burghersh, served.

On the side of the altar tomb are the shields of families with whom he was either immediately allied or connected.

1. Burghersh.
2. Bohun, Earl of Northampton.
3. Hastings and Valence, quarterly.
4. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.
5. Mortimer.
6. (Defaced).
7. Stafford, (a chevron).

8. Badlesmere.
9. Verdon.
10. Roos.
11. Stafford (a chevron charged with three estoiles).
12. Tibtoft, or Kerdeston, (a saltire engrailed).

That the tomb opposite to that of which we have been treating was erected to the memory of Henry de Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, no person has ever doubted ; and, after we have inspected the armorial bearings on it, and the tomb at its foot, and taken them in connexion with that last described, we shall find that the one illustrates the other.

The tomb, to which we now turn our attention, bears upon it the effigy of a bishop in pontificalibus, without any legend on its verge. His mitre is on his head, and is supported by two angels. In front of it, within its borders, are representations of the bull and eagle, the symbols of St. Luke and St. John : probably the other two symbols of the remaining evangelists, the angel and the lion, ornamented the back part of the mitre.

On the sides of this tomb are several armorial bearings of a character, in many instances, similar to those on the tomb of Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh.

Beginning on the north side at the head, and thence proceeding towards the feet, we meet with the armorial bearings of King Edward the Third and his four sons, in regular succession as, (on the upper part of the tomb of Lord Burghersh,) with those of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, whose only daughter, Blanch, married John of Ghent. These interesting examples of heraldry are shown in the annexed illustrations.

After these follow, in small spandrils, over as many small effigies, two and two seated, a series of armorial bearings, female and male ; and all allied, immediately or remotely, with the De Burghersh, in a great degree through their alliance with Badlesmere.

The two first of these armorial bearings are over two male figures, that on the right having a cross between four lions rampant, double queued, and on the left, Hastings quartering Valence, the same as on the tomb of Bartholomew, Lord

Burghersh. In the next panel, two male figures, also seated at a book; that on the right having over it the armorial bearing of Bohun, Earl of Northampton; and that on the left, Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Continuing the series of armorial bearings along the side of the tomb at the foot of the Bishop's, which was erected for Robert de Burghersh his brother,[1] and once had a recumbent effigy upon it, there are two figures, alternately male and female, under each panel. Over the first figure, the armorial bearing of Bohun, Earl of Northampton; over the female, that of Maud, daughter of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere, and widow of John de Vere, seventh Earl of Oxford. In the next compartment, over the male, the shield of Edmund Mortimer; over the female, that of Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere, widow of Bohun, Earl of Northampton. In the next compartment, over the male, the shield of Vere, Earl of Oxford; over the female, that of Roos impaling Burghersh. In the last compartment, over the male, the shield of Roos, of Hamlake; over the female, that of Tibtoft impaling Badlesmere.

On the south side of Bishop Burghersh's tomb, in large panels, are escutcheons bearing the following arms :—

1. A lion rampant.—Burghersh (?)
2. Checky, a fess.—Beauchamp (?)
3. A lion rampant, crowned.
4. A bend, in chief a label of five points,—St. Pierre.
5. A saltire engrailed.—Tibtoft.
6. A fess checky, between three leopards' heads, jessant.—Cantilupe.
7. A lion rampant, double queued.—Burghersh.
8. A lion rampant, within a bordure engrailed.

Over these tombs were formerly rich canopies, which, by the injudicious license of the then keepers of the Cathedral, were thrown down by the boys who used to climb upon them, as they passed with their baskets, &c., through the church. Much of these canopies remains in the adjoining chapel, which, being carefully brought together and repaired, might restore these beautiful monuments to their original state. They are of exquisite workmanship, and are highly interesting.

[1] See Dugdale.

ANCIENT INSCRIPTION TO THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM D'EYNCOURT,

WHO DIED IN THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM RUFUS.

In the library of Lincoln cathedral is preserved a relic, discovered in 1670, which is perhaps unique of its kind,—namely, an inscription on lead, which had in some manner been used to indicate the depository of a young nobleman who died in the reign of William Rufus. Sir William Dugdale, in his account of the barony of d'Eyncourt, Vol. i., p. 387, of his Baronage, writes as follows:—

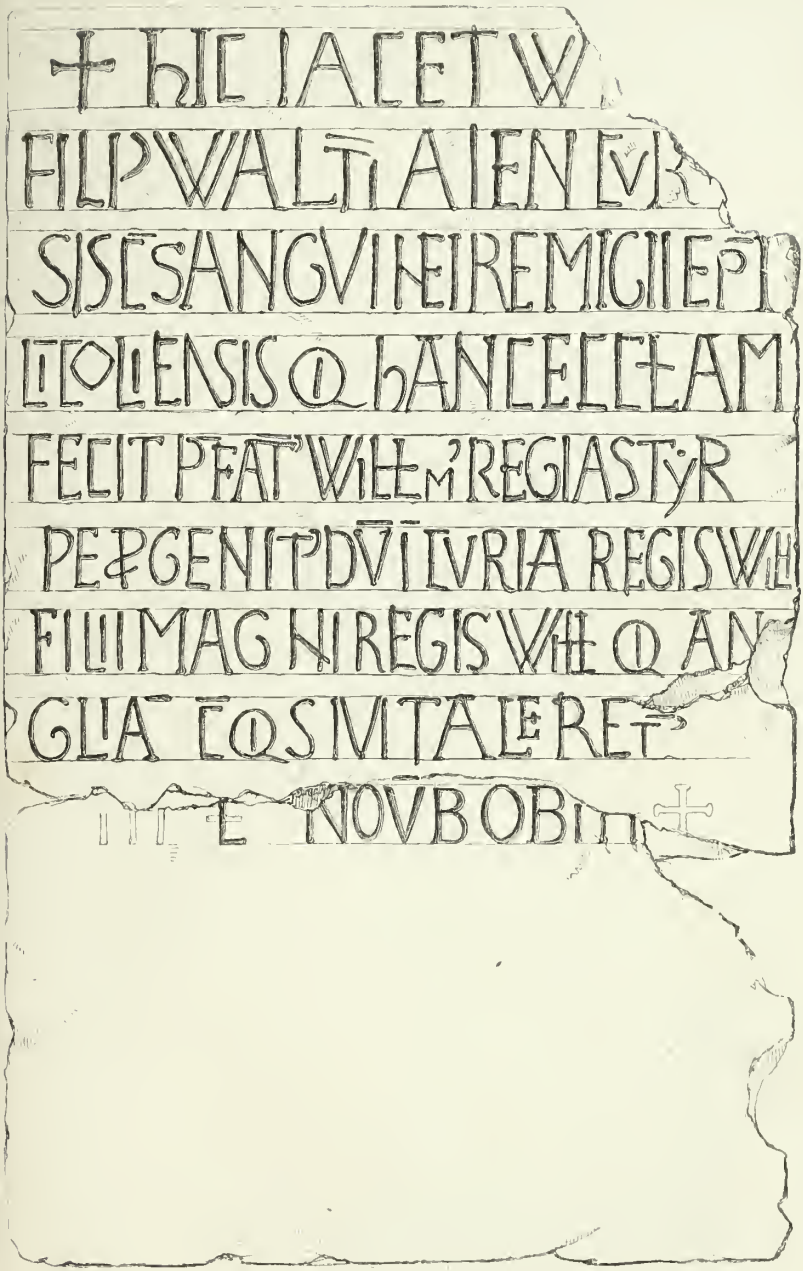
"At the time of the Norman Conquest, Walter d'Eincourt coming over with Duke William in that signal expedition, merited so well that he had very ample Possessions given him by that renowned Victor; for, by the General Survey, it appears that he then enjoyed four Lordships in the West Riding of Yorkshire, one in Northamptonshire, thirty-four in Nottinghamshire, eleven in Derbyshire, and seventeen in Lincolnshire, whereof Blanchney was one, which became his principal seat, and head of his Barony.

"This Walter had a son called William (probably the Eldest) who having his Education in the Court of King William Rufus, there died upon the third of the Calends of November, as appeareth by this Inscription made on a Plate of Lead, in Saxon Capital Letters, with abbreviations; and lately found in his Grave in the Churchyard, near to the West door of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln; a copy whereof being transmitted to me by Dr. Michael Honywood, the worthy Dean of that Church, I have here added for the venerable antiquity of it, in the very Character."

An engraving of the leaden plate here follows, and being the only illustration contained in that most learned work, it shows that Sir William Dugdale considered this a very remarkable curiosity.

He superadds this reading of it:—

✠ *Hic jacet Wilhelmus*
filius Walteri Aiencurien-
sis consanguinei Remigii Episcopi
Lincoliensis, qui hanc Ecclesiam
fecit. Præfatus Wilhelmus, Regiâ styr-
pe progenitus, dum in Curiâ Regis Wilhelmi,
filii magni Regis Wilhelmi qui An-
gliam conquisivit, aleretur,
III *Kalendas Novembris obiit.* ✠


HIC IACET W
FILIP WALTI ALIEN
SIS ESANGVINE REMIGII EPI
LINCOLIENSIS Q HANC ECCLEAM
FECIT P FAT WILLEM REGIAS TYR
PE P GENIT DVI LVRIA REGIS WIL
FILII MAGNI REGIS WILL Q AN
GLIA Q S VITA LE RET
E NOVB OBI

Leaden Plate discovered in 1670, at Lincoln, and preserved in the Cathedral Library.

(Dimensions of the original, 13½ in. by 8¾ in.)

This Illustration is presented by the Right Hon. C. T. d'Eyncourt, M.P.

Or, in English, thus—

✠ Here Lyeth William, son of Walter de Aincourt, Cousin of Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, who built this Church. The aforesaid William, being of Royal descent, died, while receiving his education in the Court of King William, son of the Great King William who conquered England, on the 3rd of the Kalends of November. ✠

It appears from the inscription, first, that Walter the father was nearly related by blood to Remigius de Fescamp, Bishop of Lincoln, which must have arisen from a connection between the families in Normandy, prior to the Conquest which brought Remigius and Walter d'Eyncourt to England in 1066. Secondly, that *William* (not Walter) was of Royal descent. This must, therefore, have been through his Mother. Thirdly, that William d'Eyncourt died in his youth, for he was then receiving his education in the Court of King William II. That monarch came to the throne in 1087, and died in 1100. We cannot exactly fix the date of William d'Eyncourt's death, because the year is not specified in the inscription, but it was evidently after the completion of the Cathedral, which, according to Matthew Paris (p. 12) was finished in 1091, and probably also after the decease of Remigius, who died in May, 1092, on the eve of the day appointed for its consecration.[1] [W. Malmesb., lib. iv., p. 290. Edit. Francof. 1601.] Supposing William to have been sixteen or seventeen years of age, and to have died in 1093, his birth would have occurred about 1076, that is, nine or ten years after the arrival of his father in England.

From all this we may conclude (especially if William was, as Dugdale supposes, the eldest son) that his father married eight or nine years after he had settled in this Country, and as the Conqueror sometimes rewarded his favourites by contracting them in marriage to wealthy and distinguished Saxon heiresses, thus carrying their inheritance into the Norman line, it is

[1] W. of Malmesbury, *ubi supra*, speaking of this noble work says,—

"Ad Lindocolniam, civitatem unam ex populosioribus Angliæ, emporium hominum terra marique venientium, Remigius in honorem Dominæ Matris fundatam Ecclesiam Canonicis multis implevit, et ipsis literarum scientiâ et divitiarum affluentia quas ex suo coemerat eminentibus. Cœnobium monachorum apud Sanctam Mariam de STOU ex novo fecit: alterum apud Bardenei ex Veteri favore suo innovarit. Quod eo jucundius erat, quia ipso pro exiguitate corporis pene portentum homiuis videbatur, luctabatur excellere et foris eminere animus, eratq :

Gratior exiguo veniens è corpore virtus.

Quem ideo natura compegisse videtur, ut sciretur beatissimum ingenium in miserrimo corpore habitare posse. Feliciter ergo acta vita in ipso apparatu consecrationis suæ Lindocolniam pridie futuræ dedicationis æmula illum mors tantis gaudiis subtraxit. Nã et magnaniui viri hortatu omnes undiq: pontifices regium edictum acciverat. Solus Robertus Herefordensis venire abnuerat, et certâ inspectione siderum dedicationem tempore Remigii non processuram viderat, nec taeuerat." And Matt. Paris, p. 12, says in reference to Remigius and the Cathedral, "Mercatis igitur in ipso montis vertice prædiis, ecclesiam ibidem construxit. Et licet Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, locum et Civitatem ad suam dioecesim assereret pertinere, assertiones tamen ejus Remigius parvi pendens, opus inchoatum non segniter peregit, peractumque, clericis, doctrinâ et moribus probatissimis decoravit. Erat quidem Remigius staturâ parvus, sed animo magnus, colore fuscus, sed non operibus, de Regiâ quoque proditione aliquando accusatus, sed famulus suus igniti judicio ferri dominum purgans, regio amori restituit, et maculam dedecoris pontificalis detersit. Hoc autem autore, hoc tempore, et his de causis incepta est, ecclesia moderna Lincolniensis." See also Hen. of Huntingdon, p. 371. Edit. 1601.

probable that Walter had married a scion of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Family. It is difficult to imagine what other royal family could be referred to, unless we suppose the lady to have been a daughter, perhaps illegitimate, of the Conqueror himself.[2]

The *name* of the deceased son "*William*," might favour this last notion. The arms, A.D. 1301, of Baron Edmund d'Eyncourt,—*a Fesse dancette, between ten billets*—as shown on his seal appended to the famous letter, protesting against Papal jurisdiction in temporal affairs, addressed to Pope Boniface VIII. by the Barons of England, assembled in Parliament at *Lincoln*, 29 Ed. I., are in an escutcheon placed in a square, as on a banner, having four lions *passant*, one at each corner. It is the only coat of arms so placed, and these lions may have been adopted to commemorate his descent from the Conqueror; the education of William d'Eyncourt in the King's Court, invites the supposition of such a connexion, if, indeed, the language of the inscription does not imply it. See Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. i., plate xxviii., for a copy of that remarkable document and an engraving of the seal of "*Edmundus de Eyncourt*." [Also Rym. Fœd, II., 873.]

A duplicate of the letter itself, with the seals appended, is extant in the Treasury of the receipt of the Exchequer: Chapter House, Westminster.

In 1741 (see Archæologia, Vol. i., p. 31), a body, sewed up in leather, was discovered near the West door of the Cathedral, in what was supposed to be the very tomb where the Inscription had been found in 1670, and the writer in the "Archaeologia" naturally imagines that this might be the body of William d'Eyncourt. The singular manner in which it was encased, may be accounted for by the circumstance, that William having died, as it appears, in the King's Palace, at London or Westminster (*dum in curia Regis*), had been brought to Lincoln, a very tedious and rude journey in those days, and the body would, therefore, be protected by some unusual means from the effects of such a removal. Of this Inscription another copy, purporting to be a fac-simile, is to be found in "Hearne's Works," No. IV. of the Appendix to his Preface to Thomas Sprott's Chronicles and referred to in page xxvi. of that preface. Gough has also, in the second part of his Introduction to his Sepulchral Monuments, p. 232, and in his Camden's Britannia, vol. ii., edit. 1806, and p. 208, edit. 1789, given two representations of it. Pegge has given it in his "Sylloge" of Inscriptions, p. 27, No. 17. It is, moreover, peculiar, from the example it affords of small letters being included in the Capitals. Three other instances of small letters so inserted, are noticed in "Archæologia," Vol. ii., p. 188, viz.: one at Moukton Farleigh, found in 1744; another found in 1733, in taking down the steeple of St. George's Church, Southwark; and a third in the nave of Salisbury Cathedral, of the time of Henry I.

[2] It is stated in Blore's Rutland, p. 149, that her name was "Matilda." But the authority which he cites, clearly refers to Matilda, the wife of Walter the grandson and third Baron, in the reign of Hen. II. [Mon. Ang. III., 529, 30, 31.]

The copy, in its original character and present condition, with which we have illustrated this notice, is free from the errors in those given by Sir William Dugdale, Hearne, and Gough; but the leaden plate has sustained some injury by having been exposed, during 180 years, to frequent manual examination. It has, however, by the care of Mr. Albert Way, during the Meeting of the Institute at Lincoln, been lately secured by a frame and glass from future accident of the same nature. The accurate representation of it, now first submitted to the antiquary, is drawn to a scale of half the actual dimension.

Sir Wm. Dugdale informs us, that to *Walter d'Eyncourt*, mentioned in the Inscription, succeeded *Ralph*, as his son and heir, who founded and endowed the Monastery of Thurgarton, Co. Notts, one of the Lordships of which his father was possessed, temp. Will. Conq.—Walter, son of Ralph, was the 3rd Baron, and it appears (Mon. Ang. i., 93) that his son Oliver, when a youth, was rescued by a Priest, from captivity and death, in the Battle of Lincoln, 1141, when fighting on the side of King Stephen; for which service his father bestowed upon the Priest a considerable gift of land, in Braunceston (near Lincoln), to pray for the soul of Oliver, who had died in his father's lifetime, and was buried at Belvoir. (Mon. ii., 532.)

This powerful family flourished during more than four centuries in Lincolnshire, held high and honourable positions in the state, and performed distinguished services. [See Blore's Rutland, Parish of Kelthorpe; Dugd. Baronage; and Burke's Landed Gentry, Tit. *Tennyson d'Eyncourt.*] It was expressly in consideration of such services on his own part, that Baron Edmund, who in 29 Edw. I. was party to that remarkable letter from the Parliament at Lincoln to the Pope, being much alarmed lest his name and arms should be extinguished by their descending to his great granddaughter and heiress, Isabel, obtained, 7 Edw. II., a special license from the Crown (of which there is no other example extant) to limit his Lordships to his grandson, William d'Eyncourt. [See Dugd. Baronage, vol. i., p. 388; Camden's Brit. vol. i., p. 559; Blore's Rutland, p. 149; Riley's Plac. Parl., p. 547.]

Edmund's female heir afterwards died without issue, and the Barony remained, by descent as well as by virtue of the License, in William d'Eyncourt and his posterity until its forfeiture, 11 Hen. VII., by the last Baron d'Eyncourt of Blankney, who then also bore the title of Viscount Lovel. This William was an eminent warrior, and one of the most distinguished men of whom the County of Lincoln has had to boast. He signalised himself, both in war and council, during the glorious reign of Edward III., in England, France, and Scotland. He attended, as a Guard of Honour, Queen Philippa, when she appeared in the field and exhorted the soldiers before the battle of Durham, in 1346 [See Barnes' Edw. III., p. 379, and Froissart]; and, having had a chief command in this great victory, he was thanked for his services on that occasion by a letter of the King. [Hollingshed and Rot. Scot., 20 Edward III., m. 5.] Afterwards he had the custody of John, King of France, who had been taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince, at the Battle of Poietiers, 1356.

(See Blore's Rutland, pp. 153,154; Barnes, 538.) During a considerable period of that Monarch's residence in England, Lord d'Eyncourt held him in courteous and gentle captivity, at Somerton Castle, an extensive portion of which still exists, about six miles from Lord d'Eyncourt's residence at Blankney, and about eight miles from the city of Lincoln. Blore (*ubi supra*) gives, with the authorities on which they rest, the very curious details of King John's journey into Lincolnshire, and afterwards, on his return to France, in 1360, through Lincolnshire, &c., to London; that monarch being, on both occasions, under Lord d'Eyncourt's charge. John, his younger brother, represented Lincolnshire in Parliament in 1336, 11 Edw. III.

A female heir, Alice, Baroness d'Eyncourt, temp. Hen. VI., carried the barony into the family of the Lords Lovel, where it was lost, temp. Henry VII., by the above mentioned forfeiture of her grandson, Lord Lovel and D'Eyncourt, whose skeleton (as it was supposed to be,) was found about 140 years ago, seated in a chair in a concealed room at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, where he had probably been secreted, after the battle of Stoke-upon-Trent, and subsequently abandoned.—(See "Banks' Baronage," and "Burke's Extinct Peerage.") A lineal descendant of this ancient stock, through William, second son and ultimately heir male (unattainted in blood) of Alice, Baroness d'Eyncourt, now resides at Bayons, antiently Bayeux, Manor, Lincolnshire, which was the property of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, brother of the Conqueror, and subsequently part of the vast inheritance of Lord Lovel and D'Eyncourt. (See Statutes of the Realm, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 46.) It is a castellated and stately pile, 16 miles N.E. of Lincoln, and well corresponds with the romantic history of this baronial family. The proprietor, the Rt. Hon. Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, M.P. for Lambeth, in compliance with a direction in his father's will (to commemorate his lineal descent from the Barons d'Eyncourt of Blankney, and his representation as co-heir of the Barons d'Eyncourt of Sutton), bears the name and arms of D'Eyncourt, by Royal license, thus responding to the anxious wish of Edmund Baron d'Eyncourt, gratified by Edward II. as above related. He also possesses an interesting property and residence at Aincourt, situated in a high and beautiful country, about two miles from the river Seine, between Mantes and Magny, within the French Vexin, on the borders of Normandy. Hence came, at the Conquest, Walter de Aincourt, named in the inscription, who figures in Battle Abbey Roll, and whose English possessions are recorded in Domesday Book: his name having been gradually corrupted by English pronunciation and orthography, into "Eincourt" or "Eyncourt." This residence stands near the remains of the ancient castle, which was the stronghold of the Seigneurs de Aincourt before and after the conquest of England, and would have been the inheritance of William, to whom the Lincoln memorial relates.

*** The accurate representation of this remarkable memorial has been kindly presented to the Institute, accompanied by the foregoing Memoir, by the Right Hon. C. Tennyson d'Eyncourt, M.P.

THE DESCENT OF THE EARLDOM OF LINCOLN.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

The nature of a modern earldom is readily understood. It is a dignity which is inalienable, indivisible, and which descends in regular succession to all the male heirs of the body of the grantee until they fail. Such is the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, which has now existed for two hundred and seventy-six years in the family of Clinton. It has descended without interruption in two successive direct lines. Having been conferred by Queen Elizabeth in 1572 on her aged High Admiral, Edward Lord Clinton, it descended in the first line of his posterity to Edward the fifth Earl, who died in 1692; when the Barony of Clinton fell into abeyance between his aunts, and has since been successively vested in the several families of Fortescue, Walpole, and Trefusis, but the Earldom devolved on Francis Clinton, the cousin and heir male, of whose direct descendants there have been five more Earls, so that the present Duke of Newcastle is the eleventh Earl of the creation of 1572.

But the descent of the ancient Earldom of Lincoln, of which it is my purpose to treat, will be found to differ in all respects from the simple succession of the modern dignity. In the course of its chequered history, we find it divided between coparceners; we find it more than once transferred in an arbitrary manner; we find it retained in the hands of the Crown and let to farm; and, throughout its early history, instead of a quiet succession from father to son, it exhibits an almost constant dependence on the rights of female inheritance. At the same time, we have further to remark that, during all its vicissitudes, it never became extinct, until it finally merged again in the Crown, and its rights and estates became parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster. Though it descended very irregularly, and was vested in several

successive families, still the claims of legal inheritance were never wholly forgotten, and, even if latent or superseded for a time, they emerged under more favourable circumstances, and were again recognised by the Crown, under new arrangements or modifications. The interest which arises from this investigation commences at a very early period of our history, for we find that the claims of inheritance to the dignity of Earl of Lincoln were derived originally from Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

We are not, however, authorised to conclude that the Earldom itself existed in the times before the Conquest. Camden, it is true, commences his enumeration of the Earls of Lincolnshire with the Saxons Egga and Morcar,[1] the former of whom he says flourished in the year 716, and the latter he describes as the maternal uncle of William de Roumare, the first Norman Earl of Lincoln. The former name, Egga, is not merely apocryphal, but purely fictitious. It occurs only among the witnesses to the spurious foundation-charter of Croyland Abbey, a document fabricated by the monks of a subsequent age.

Morcar is a person whose existence is better ascertained. He was the son of Algar, Earl of Mercia, and brother to Edgiva, the Queen of the unfortunate Harold; but he appears in history as Earl of Northumberland, under which designation, and not as Earl of Lincoln, he is noticed by Dugdale.

Morcar is stated by the Croyland chroniclers to have had an only sister named Lucia (for they seem to have forgotten Harold's queen), and this Lucia is represented as the mother of William de Roumare, who was Earl of Lincoln in the reign of Stephen. It is this statement which Camden and most of our older writers on the Peerage have followed. There is ample evidence of the reality of such a person as the Countess Lucy; but it is impossible that she could have been, as the Croyland chroniclers assert, at once the sister of Earl Morcar, the wife of Ivo Taillebois, before the year 1071, again mar-

[1] Britannia. Dugdale also admits Egga into his Baronage, vol. i. p. 6. The name has been printed Eggo by Mr. Kemble, Chartæ Anglo-Saxon., i. 79.

ried after a lapse of forty-three years to the father of William de Roumare, and a third time to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, having further issue two sons and two daughters.

The most probable explanation of the circumstances thus crowded upon one lady is, that there were two successive heiresses, bearing the same name of Lucy, and that the first was the wife of Ivo Taillebois, and mother of the second, and that the second, by her two marriages, gave birth to the half-brothers, William, Earl of Lincoln, and Ranulph, Earl of Chester, whose history is so much connected with that of this city.

The name of Lucy, as belonging to the former of these ladies, occurs not only in the Croyland chronicles, but also in a charter of her husband, whereby he gave, in the year 1085, the Church of Spalding to the Priory of St. Nicholas at Angers. Another record[2] mentions two of her uncles, or immediate relations, namely, Robert Malet and Alan of Lincoln. The former was the son of William Malet, who was slain at York when the Danes besieged that city, in the year 1069 ; and his mother was Hesilia Crispin, the sister of Emma Crispin, whose descendants of the name of Condie, or Cundet, inherited various estates in Lincolnshire. Alan of Lincoln, the other "uncle," was doubtless a kinsman of Alured of Lincoln, who held an extensive fief in Lincolnshire at the Domesday survey (as his descendants did for some generations after), and who probably was the same person who is designated under the city of Lincoln in that record as Aluredus nepos Turoldi. Now, Turold is the name of the first recorded Lord of Spalding, who gave land in that place to the Church of Saint Guthlac at Croyland, as the Domesday survey relates, "Hanc terram dedit Turoldus, vicecomes, Sancto Guthlaco, pro animâ suâ," and who, in the charter of Ivo Taillebois already cited, is mentioned as the kinsman of his wife Lucia.

[2] Charter of Henry, Duke of Normandy, and Comte of Anjou, dated at Devizes in 1152, granting to Ranulf, Earl of Chester, "totum honorem de Eia, sicut *Robertus Malet avunculus matris sue* melius et plenius unquam tenuit. Et fœudum *Alani de Lincolia* ei dedi qui fuit *avunculus matris sue*, et fœudum Ernisii de Burum sicut hæreditatem."—Orig. Charter in the Cottonian Collection.

In regard to the Saxon ancestry of the Earls of Lincoln, this fact is further remarkable, that, after Turold the *vicecomes*, or sheriff, had been Lord of Spalding,[3] we find him succeeded there by Earl Algar, in the time of the Confessor; and it therefore becomes worthy of consideration how much credit may be given to the assertion of one of the Croyland charters (though the charter itself be a forgery), that Turold of Buckenhale (the same who gave the land to Spalding) was brother to the Countess Godiva (of Coventry fame), the wife of Earl Leofric, and mother of Earl Algar. It may here be noticed that the genuine Saxon charter of the foundation of the Monastery of Stow, near Lincoln, shows that Godiva, there styled Godgife, joined with her husband, Earl Leofric, in that work of piety.[4]

Ivo Taillebois, on whom the Saxon heiress was bestowed by the Conqueror, was a native of Anjou. The Croyland historians style him *Comes*, and several authors have in consequence fastened him on to the sovereign house of the Counts of Anjou. In so doing, they clearly were not justified; and it seems more probable that the old chroniclers bestowed the designation of *comes* with reference to his acquired position in this country. Indeed, they state that he was a candidate for the Earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, on the death of Earl Waltheof in 1075; and in Lincolnshire he occupied the same position in which his descendants were afterwards recognised as Earls.

The case of the first Earls of Salisbury is somewhat similar. Edward of Saresbury is the *vicecomes*, or sheriff of Wiltshire, in Domesday book; his posterity became Earls of Salisbury.

Ivo Taillebois died in the year 1114, and was buried in the Priory Church of Spalding. Besides the second Lucy, to whom we shall next proceed, it seems that he and the former Lucy were also the parents of Beatrix, wife of Ribald of Middleham, brother to Alan Earl of Richmond, and of Matilda, wife of Hugh Fitz Ranulph, brother to Ranulph Earl of Chester.[5]

[3] See the records relating to Turold further investigated in the Topographer and Genealogist, 1843, vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

[4] Monasticon Angl., i. 262.

[5] See authorities cited in Topographer and Genealogist, i. 15.

His daughter, LUCY, afterwards Countess of Chester, was married to her first husband, Roger de Roumare, before the death of King Rufus, 1100. He was the son of Gerold, who had been *dapifer* or seneschal to William Duke of Normandy before the conquest of England, and who is supposed to have been the son of another Gerold, two other sons being Ralph and Edward; the former the ancestor of the Tancarvilles, the hereditary chamberlains of Normandy; and the latter the same Edward of Saresbury, already alluded to as the ancestor of the Earls of Salisbury. Roger de Roumare must have died young, as we have no further particulars of him; and his only child on record is William, afterwards Earl of Lincoln.

His widow was soon after married to Ranulph de Briquesard, who was the eldest son of Ranulph, Vicomte of the Bessin, in Normandy. He also bore the surname of Mischinus, le Meschin, meaning Ranulph the younger. After the death of his cousin Richard, who, in 1120, was drowned in the White Ship, together with King Henry's eldest son, and many other persons of high rank, Ranulph le Meschin became Earl of Chester; and dying in 1129, was buried at Chester. It is doubtful whether this Earl was not recognised as Earl of Lincolnshire also; for in a catalogue of tenants of lands in this county made during the lifetime of his predecessor in the Earldom of Chester,[6] the words COMES LINC. are twice placed over the names of Ranulphus Mischinus. It is more probable, however, that these words were a subsequent addition, implying that the lands of which Ranulph was lord at the making of the roll, had since devolved on the Earl of Lincoln. But after his death we find the rights of his widow in this county fully recognised. The Countess Lucy was thereupon admitted to the inheritance of her father's lands in Lincolnshire, for which she paid a fine of 400 marks into the Exchequer, and became bound at the same time, under the penalty of 500 marks of silver, not to take another husband (without license from the Crown) within the next five

[6] MS. Cotton. Claud. C. v. ff. 8, 9, printed in the additamenta to Hearne's Liber Niger.

years. She further rendered account of 45 marks to be paid for the conclusion of this covenant, and bestowed on whom the King willed; and of which 20 marks had already been given to the Queen. And she owed 100 marks for the privilege of administering justice in her court among her vassals.[7] Her son, Earl Ranulph (who must then have been of age), accounts in the same roll as a debtor to the Crown in 500 marks of silver for the agreement which the King made between him and his mother respecting her dower. The Countess Lucy, in her second widowhood, confirmed the manor of Spalding to the monks of that place,[8] where either she, or her mother, or perhaps both, were buried.[9] The Countess Lucia's children were,—by Roger de Roumare, William, Earl of Lincoln; and by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, two sons and two daughters, viz., Ranulph de Gernons, Earl of Chester; William, said to have been Earl of Cambridge; Alice, the wife of Richard Fitz Gilbert, ancestor of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester and Hereford; and Agnes, the wife of Robert de Grandmesnil.

Her eldest son, William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, had already highly distinguished himself after the violent spirit of the age, and had made his prowess and his influence very sensible both abroad and at home.[1] His name first appears during the rebellion in Normandy, in the year 1118. As governor of the frontier fortress of Neufmarché en Lions, the care of which had been committed to his grandfather Gerold by Duke William the year before the invasion of England, William de Roumare was for some time the sole supporter of King Henry's authority in Normandy. This rebellion was quelled by the victory of Brenmule, on the 18th of May, 1119. The name of William de Roumare is again mentioned before the close of the same year, as having been one of those who had the prudence to quit the ill-fated White Ship, which was about to convey to England the flower of the English court, in attendance on the King's son,

[7] Magnus Rot. Scaccarii, 31 Hen. I., 8vo. 1833, p. 110.
[8] Mon. Angl., i. 308. [9] Ibid. i. 504.
[1] The following historical particulars are from the Chronicle of Ordericus Vitalis.

and which unhappily foundered at sea: the caution of those who refused to take the voyage is said to have been roused "because they perceived the ship was filled with too numerous a company of wanton and arrogant youth." The event, however, had a material influence on the fortunes of William de Roumare; for, as already mentioned, it brought the Earldom of Chester to his stepfather, Ranulph le Meschin, whose predecessor in that Earldom was among those who were lost in the wreck. On obtaining investiture of the Earldom of Chester, Ranulph was induced to surrender to the King some considerable part of the estates of his wife Lucy. This excited the indignation of her son William, who thus lost the prospect of his inheritance. He demanded of the King the restoration of his mother's land, and also the manor of Corfe in Dorsetshire, which had belonged to his uncle Robert FitzGerald; but the King refused his claims, and answered him with reproaches. Exceedingly incensed at this denial of his rights, and the King's disregard of his past services, William de Roumare passed over into Normandy, and determined to show the King that his power was as great as ever. Having communicated with those who were still inclined to favour the claims of William, son of Duke Robert Curt-heuze, to the sovereignty of Normandy, he gathered them to the castle of Neufmarché, and from thence most bitterly renewed the war upon the Normans. For two years he continued to gratify his revenge with raids and firings, and the capture of prisoners; nor did he desist from his enterprise until the King had yielded to him competent satisfaction, and restored a great part of that which he had claimed. Subsequently, on the death of William, Comte of Flanders (the claimant of Normandy), in 1128, William de Roumare was the first among the Normans of his party to be reconciled to the King, whose familiar guest and friend (says Ordericus Vitalis) he became from that time. Upon the event of King Henry's decease, in 1135, William de Roumare was dispatched with Hugh de Gornai and the other Lord Marchers of Normandy, to defend the Duchy; and, on his return to England in Advent, 1137, he was

appointed by King Stephen one of the Justiciars of Normandy.

We have now arrived at the time when the dignity of Earl of Lincoln is recognised by name, in the person of William de Roumare. There is not, however, any charter, or record of that character, to testify to the fact; but the very first sentence of an important historian, William of Malmesbury, is to this effect: "Before Christmas, in the year 1140, King Stephen had peacefully departed from the province of Lincoln, having increased the honours of the Earl of Chester and his brother." With this statement we must combine the circumstance, that another historian, Ordericus Vitalis, at this time terms William de Roumare "Earl," and his wife "Countess." It is in the following very remarkable account of the seizure of Lincoln Castle:—

"In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord 1141, great disturbance arose in the kingdom of the English, and a sudden change ensued, to the detriment of many; for Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and William de Roumare, his uterine brother, rebelled against King Stephen, and by stratagem seized upon the citadel which he had retained in his own hands at Lincoln, to protect the city. Craftily finding an opportunity when the garrison was dispersed abroad, they sent before them their wives into the castle, as though for the sake of pastime. And so, while the two Countesses continued their visit, playing and chatting with the wife of the knight who was in charge, the Earl of Chester came unarmed, and without his coat of mail, as if to fetch his wife away, followed by three knights, no one suspecting any harm. Thus having effected an entrance, they suddenly seized the crow-bars and arms that lay near, and violently ejected the King's guards. Then William, and armed knights with him, arrived as had been before arranged. And so the two brothers subdued the castle, with the whole city, to themselves.

"Upon this, Alexander, the bishop, and the citizens sent word of the occurrence to the King, who, on hearing the intelligence, was mightily enraged, and astonished that they who had been his greatest friends, to whom he had given an

William de Roumara, Earl of Lincoln

1140—c. 1165.

increase of honours and dignities, should commit so black a crime. Therefore, after Christmas, having collected an army, he immediately marched to Lincoln, and, by aid of the citizens, surprised in the night and made prisoners about seventeen knights who were lying in the city. The two Earls were, with their wives and intimate friends, within the citadel, and, being thus suddenly surrounded, they were at first undetermined how to act. At length, Ranulph, the younger and more active, and who was exceedingly bold, got out by night with a few attendants, and made his way to his own feudatories in the province of Chester." There he lost no time in assembling an army, which, with the aid of his father-in-law, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, he brought to Lincoln in time to relieve his besieged brother, and gave the King battle on Sexagesima Sunday, February 2nd, 1141. In this conflict Stephen was defeated and taken prisoner.

The great feudatories were at this period more than a match for the Crown. The Earl of Chester successfully withstood a second siege of Lincoln by Stephen in 1144.[2] He continued to maintain the quarrel of the Empress and her son. In 1146, King Stephen seized upon him when at his Court, nor could he obtain his liberty until he had surrendered the castle of Lincoln ; and, thereupon, King Stephen was crowned at Lincoln.[3] Having made his escape, the Earl was, in the following year, himself unsuccessful in an attack on the city.[4] In 1151 he was again imprisoned by Stephen ; but, in the next year took place the memorable meeting at Devizes, at which the rivals for the throne, and their potent abettors, agreed upon terms for the pacification of the kingdom. On this occasion, the Earl of Chester received charters of various grants or confirmations from each of the competitors. From King Stephen[5] he had the castle and city of Lincoln, to enjoy until he should be restored to his land and castles in Normandy, with permission to fortify one of the towers of Lincoln Castle, and to retain the same in his custody until the King

[2] Simeon Dunelm. [3] Ypodigma Neustriæ, Tho. Walsingham.
[4] R. Hoveden. [5] See the substance of this charter in Dugdale's Baronage, i. 39.

should deliver to him the Castle of Tickhill, which being done, the King was to have the castle and city of Lincoln again, except the Earl's own tower, which his mother (that is, the Countess Lucy) had fortified ;[6] together with the office of constable of the castle and of the whole county, which belonged to him of hereditary right. Henry, Duke of Normandy, by his charter to the Earl of Chester,[7] made him several grants, among which were the fees of Robert Malet, and Alan of Lincoln, his mother's uncles, before alluded to. To this charter the first witness on the part of the Earl of Chester is his brother, William, Earl of Lincoln. There are also extant several charters of William himself, in which he uses the style of "Earl of Lincoln," and the ascertained dates of some of these prove his continued enjoyment of this dignity. These are, his foundation charter of Revesby Abbey, about the year 1143 ;[8] a charter to the Cathedral Church of Rouen not earlier than 1148, and one to the Abbey of St. Ouen, in that city, which bears the date of 1153.[9] The year of his death has not been ascertained, but it was before 1168 (14 Hen. II.) when his grandson and heir, William de Roumare, rendered account in the Exchequer for 39*l.* 10*s.* to the aid of Matilda, the King's daughter, for his knight's fees in Lincolnshire.

The seal of William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, of which an engraving is annexed, is attached to a charter preserved in the Hôtel Soubise, at Paris : it forms an interesting monument of an English Earl, at so early a period of our history.

Having been made a monk in his last illness,[1] as a passport to eternal salvation, the Earl was buried in the abbey which he had founded at Revesby, where his tomb stood before the high altar, with this inscription :[2]—"Hic jacet in tumba Willielmus de Romare, Comes Lincolniæ, fundator istius monasterii sancti Laurencii de Rewisby." It may here be mentioned that the castle of Bolingbroke, afterwards the birth-

[6] Supposed to have been the principal tower or keep; see Mr. Willson's paper hereafter, p. 288.

[7] Printed in Ormerod's Cheshire, i. (See the former note in p. 255.)

[8] Monast. Angl. i. 823.

[9] Topographer and Genealogist, i. 22.

[1] Monast. Angl. i. 305.

[2] Ibid. i. 532.

place of King Henry the Fourth, is by old tradition ascribed to the erection of Earl William de Roumare. His wife was Hawise, daughter of Richard de Redvers, Lord of Tiverton in Devonshire and Christchurch in Hampshire, and sister to Baldwin, first Earl of Devon. By the title of Comitissa Hawysia de Romare, she gave the church of Feltham, in Middlesex, to the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, near London. She joined in the foundation of Revesby Abbey, and her name is attached as a witness to other charters.[3] Her son,

William de Roumare the Second died before his father, in the year 1151,[4] probably slain at the time when his ancestral castle of Neufmarché, in Normandy, was taken by the French; and the next heir of the family,

William de Roumare the Third,[5] son of the preceding by Agnes, daughter of Stephen, Earl of Albemarle, was evidently a child at his grandfather's decease. He was never confirmed in the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, though many particulars are on record regarding him, which show that he not only inherited large estates in this county, but also that he maintained the rank of an Earl. We learn from his own charter, founding the Abbey of Cleeve, in Somersetshire, that he was educated in the court of King Henry the Second; and a monastic genealogist[6] states that he obtained from that Sovereign all the lands of his grandfather. At the taxation in 1168, he made returns of fifty-seven knight's fees in Lindesey and in Wiltshire.[7] He still also retained the ancestral estates of his family in Normandy, amounting to fourteen knight's fees. In 1172 he gave a confirmation charter to the Abbey of Revesby, styling himself "nepos Willielmi Comitis et heres ejus." He had previously joined with his grandfather in two charters to the Priory of Spalding, in one of which he is styled "the heir," and he used the like designation in a confirmation charter of his own. In several inquisitions respecting the lands of his fief in Lincolnshire

[3] See particulars in Topogr. and Genealogist, i. 24.

[4] Chronicon Rob. Montensis.

[5] So called in a pleading temp. John, Placit. Abbreviatio, p. 75.

[6] Mon. Angl., i. 305.

[7] Liber Niger Scacc. 8vo. 1771, p. 263.

during the reign of John, the title of "Earl" is likewise ascribed to him; and, finally, it may be noticed that in a charter of John, Earl of Mortaine, to the metropolitan church of Rouen, his attestation appears among the Earls as "Earl William de Roumare," and before that of Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex.[8] There is a story in the Chronicle of Croyland, respecting a contest between the Abbey of Croyland and Priory of Spalding, relative to their respective rights of property in Croyland marsh, in which William de Roumare is described as the intimate and bosom friend of Earl John, afterwards King. William de Roumare, as the hereditary founder of Spalding, was bound to espouse its cause; on the other hand, William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, whom King Richard had left Justiciary of the kingdom, was brother to the Abbot of Croyland. The Earl of Mortaine, both from his friendship for William de Roumare, and his constant opposition to the Chancellor, was induced to throw the whole weight of his influence against the interests of the Abbey of Croyland; and its historian, in consequence, bitterly complains of his violence and injustice. This trial took place at London on Ascension Day, 1192. The third William de Roumare married a princely bride, Philippa,[9] daughter of John, Comte d' Alençon; but he died without issue, in the year 1198.

Having thus accompanied this family to its termination, we must now go back for more than sixty years, to the time of the battle of Lincoln in 1141, in order to examine how THE EARLDOM WAS DIVIDED, how it was that there were two Earls of Lincoln at once,—Earl William de Roumare and Earl Gilbert de Gant; whilst during the same time their potent kinsman, the Earl of Chester, was the actual lord of the castle and city of Lincoln, and, in fact, acted as the arbiter of the fortunes of both the Earls.

We are told,[1] that when the Earl of Chester defeated King Stephen, and took him prisoner at the battle of Lincoln

[8] See Observations on the Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, by the late Thomas Stapleton, Esq., V.P.S.A., vol. ii. p. 159.

[9] See further regarding her in Topogr. and Genealogist, i. 27.

[1] John of Hexham's continuation to the chronicle of Simeon of Durham.

Gilbert de Gant Earl of Lincoln

1141—1156.

in 1141, he also made prisoner Gilbert de Gant, then a youth, who was compelled by the Earl to take his niece in marriage. But we can scarcely suppose that this compulsory marriage, which brought with it an Earldom, involved any extraordinary hardship. It is certain that the youth was already a person of importance, from the wide extent of his domains, chiefly lying in this county; and this was probably the consideration which made the Earl of Chester anxious to secure his alliance. Gilbert de Gant was the representative of a family which flourished for many generations, both before and after his time, in the possession of large territories in Lincolnshire. His grandfather of the same name had come into England with the Conqueror, being nephew to Matilda, the consort of the Norman Duke, and son of Baldwin, Earl Flanders. The second Gilbert's father was named Walter, and his mother was Matilda, daughter of Stephen, Earl of Brittany. He was himself born, baptised, and educated at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, as he relates in a remarkable charter,[2] by which he bound himself to the Church of St. Mary of Bridlington, that, whenever he died, his body should there receive sepulture; engaging, moreover, to become a monk of that house, should God ever move him to assume the habit of religion. We have evidence that he continued to use the title of Earl of Lincoln contemporaneously with Earl William de Roumare, for many years after the battle of Lincoln; and, indeed, there is no doubt that he was so styled until his death in 1156, which was fifteen years after. Many of his charters under this title are extant.[3] They do not immediately present us with dates; but of two of them it may be stated, that he styles himself "Earl" in his charter, whereby the Abbey of Rufford was founded, the date of which event is placed by historians either in 1146 or 1148; and that his charter removing the Cistercian monks of Byham to Vaudey in this county, was granted at the request of Eugenius the Roman bishop, who occupied the papal chair from 1145 to 1153. We may, therefore, fairly conclude,

[2] Mon. Angl., ii. 165.

[3] See the enumeration in Topogr. and Genealogist, i. 305.

that Gilbert de Gant continued Earl of Lincoln until his death. His Seal in the annexed engraving is from a charter preserved in the British Museum.[4]

We have seen that Earl Gilbert acquired his title to this dignity with the niece of the Earl of Chester. Her name was the Countess Roheis; but her actual parentage has not been precisely ascertained. It will be found that all our old writers on the peerage consider her as the daughter of Earl William de Roumare. This was an opinion which they would obviously adopt, on hastily supposing that the Earl had no male heir. But we have already seen that such was not the case; and it is quite certain that the Earl of Chester could not have possessed the power of giving away the rights of either the son or grandson of his half-brother. It is, on the contrary, perfectly consistent with the usual circumstances of such transactions, to conclude that the lady had really hereditary rights of her own, and that the Earl of Chester exercised the ordinary duty, or prerogative, of providing a suitable match for her. It has been already stated, that the first Lucy, wife of Ivo Taillebois, had, besides Lucy, Countess of Chester, two other daughters, Beatrix, wife of Ribald of Middleham, and Matilda, wife of Hugh Fitz Ranulph. The Countess Roheis was probably the daughter of one of these two ladies;[5] and in either case she was niece to the Countess Lucy, and cousin to the Earl of Chester, who united her to Gilbert de Gant. If she was the daughter of Hugh Fitz Ranulph, she was the Earl's cousin both by father and mother. After the death of Earl Gilbert, she was married to a person styled Robertus Dapifer, a name which implies that he was seneschal or steward to the great house of Percy.[6] I am able to exhibit engravings of two Seals of the Countess Roheis; one of which was used whilst she was wife of Gillebert de Gant, as its legend declares; and the other is attached to a charter granted by her in conjunction with her second husband, Robertus Dapifer. In the legend

[4] Harl. Cart. 50 F. 31. It has been printed in the Topographer and Genealogist, vol. i. p. 317.

[5] See this more fully considered in Topogr. and Genealogist, i. 302.

[6] See the words quoted, ibid. p. 306.

Two Seals of Roheis Countess of Lincoln

of this she is styled Rohesia Comitissa Lincolnie. The pattern seems intended to represent the vairy fur worn by ladies of high rank, rather than heraldic chevronels,—though it very probably unfolds the real origin of the latter. Her only issue by Earl Gilbert was a daughter named Alice, and married to Simon de St. Liz, who succeeded to the earldom of Northampton in 1153, and in 1174 recovered the earldom of Huntingdon, which had also belonged to his father, but had subsequently been held by Malcolm and William, kings of the Scots. Earl Simon died without issue in 1184, and was buried at the Priory of St. Andrew in Northampton. The Countess Alice was buried at Bridlington, the foundation of her father's family. She used a seal[7] covered with chevronels, like the second seal of her mother, and it is inscribed SIGILLUM ALICIE COMITISSE FILIE COMITIS GILEBERTI.

The Earldom of Lincoln was now considered vacant; and King Richard the First, who it seems did not choose to recognise the hereditary claim of William de Roumare the third, early in his reign sold (or let to farm) the custody of the castle of Lincoln, and the revenues of the county, to Gerard de Camville,[8] who had married Nicholaa, daughter and co-heir of Richard de Hay, Constable of the castle in fee. Gerard accounted for them from the second year of that reign, 1190-1191, to the sixth, 1195.[9] This Baron took a decided part with John, Earl of Mortaine, in his struggle with the Chancellor Longchamp, during the absence of King Richard; and the Chancellor in consequence laid siege to the castle of Lincoln, but it was relieved by the arrival of Earl John.[1] The Chancellor, however, succeeded in ousting Gerard, not only from the office of constable of Lincoln Castle, and the shrievalty of the county, but from his own lands also;[2] so that he was constrained to give 2000 marks to repossess his own estate, and obtain the King's favour. But on the accession of John he was restored to the

[7] MS. Cotton. Jul. C. VIII. f. 148.

[8] "Gerardus de Camvilla, vir dives et nobilis, a rege castelli Lincolniæ custodiam emerat cum adjacentis provinciæ præsulatu." Chron. Johannis Bromton, Decem Script., fol. 1652, col. 1223.

[9] Pipe Rolls, quoted by Dugdale, Baronage, i. 627.

[1] Bromton, ubi supra.

[2] R. Hoveden. p. 459.

shrievalty, which he continued to hold until the seventh year of that reign.[3] He was still living in the 10th John, 1208-1209, when he was one of the justices itinerant in Lincolnshire,[4] but he was deceased in 1216, in which year his widow Nicholaa courageously defended the castle of Lincoln for some time against the Earls who headed the King's party, when, according to a contemporary Latin poem,—

"——— longa superbia belli
Fluxit ad obsessam matronæ nobilis arcem."

It is to this juncture that we have to assign the nominal Earldom of THE SECOND GILBERT DE GANT. This Baron was the nephew and heir male of the former Gilbert; but, inasmuch as his uncle had been Earl only by right of marriage, the succession to the Barony of Gant was not accompanied by any just pretensions to the Earldom of Lincoln. Gilbert de Gant, however, was a popular person, as we may judge from the monks of Vaudey terming him Gilbert the Good;[5] and he had some ambition, for which the crisis in which the kingdom was placed seemed to offer a favourable opening. If the French prince might claim with probable success the crown of England, Gilbert de Gant had at least as much pretension to the Earldom of Lincoln. Coming therefore to London, says the historian Matthew Paris, he there received from Louis the sword of the county or Earldom of Lincoln. This was the usual mode in which a new Earl received seisin of his dignity; and it may be remarked by the way that the sword of the Earldom of Chester is still preserved in the British Museum, inscribed HUGO COMES CESTRIÆ.

Earl Gilbert was immediately required to assert by the sword what he had received by the sword; but in this, it will be seen, he was attended with very slight success. His first operations were directed against the royal garrisons in the castles of Nottingham and Newark; he then seized the city of Lincoln, but not the castle, and levied a tax upon the

[3] Rot. Pip. and Rot. Claus., 6 Joh. m. 1.
[4] Dugdale, Baron., i. 627.
[5] Mon. Angl., i. 334.

whole province. The district of Holland he subdued by force and spoliation, but still he could not reduce the castle of Lincoln, which, after having been gallantly defended for some time by the widow of Camville the sheriff, had now been garrisoned by the Earl of Chester, in the name of King John. Whilst pursuing the siege, Earl Gilbert was alarmed at the approach of the King himself, and consequently retreated; and though he renewed the siege when the King had retired, it was still with no better success. So impregnable in ancient times was the castle or citadel of Lincoln, as we have now had several occasions of remarking. In the meantime King John died at Newark; and at length, on Whit Monday, the 15th of May, 1217, Earl William Mareschall, the custos of the realm for the infant King Henry, assembled the royal forces at that place, from whence they marched to Lincoln. Four days after the decisive battle was here fought, in which the French were defeated, and Earl Gilbert de Gant was taken prisoner, having never obtained possession of the castle of Lincoln, which had remained in the hands of his cousin and rival the Earl of Chester. He survived, in the rank of a Baron only, to the year 1241.

Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, was one of the most potent subjects of his own or any other age. He was the third Earl of Chester of his name, and he had the unusual fortune to enjoy that dignity for more than half a century. For some time, in right of one of his wives, he was also Duke of Britany. He was the son and heir of Hugh II., surnamed Cyvelioc, Earl of Chester, by Bertreia, daughter of Simon, Earl of Montfort and Evreux; and he is distinguished in the succession of the Earls of Chester by the surname Blondeville, given him from his birth at Album Monasterium, or Blondeville, in Powis,—now called Oswestry. I shall not attempt to detail the history of his long career in places distant from Lincoln; but we may dwell with some interest on the important events of 1217, which established at once the peace of the kingdom, and confirmed Earl Ranulph in the Earldom of Lincoln. It has been already stated, that the forces of the loyal Earls and Barons were assembled on Whit Monday

at Newark, where the Earl of Chester assumed the chief command of the army. He led it on to Lincoln,[6] where the French Prince and the confederate Barons had arrived four days before. The Comte of Perche, the general of the French, is said to have observed, on seeing the Earl of Chester, "Have we stayed here all this while for the coming of such a dwarf?" To which Earl Ranulph replied, "I vow to God and our Lady, whose church this is, that before to-morrow evening I will seem to thee to be stronger, and greater, and taller than that steeple." Thus parting, he betook himself to the castle.

On the next morning, the Comte of Perche, armed at all points except his head, entered the cathedral, and left Prince Louis in safety there; having done which, he challenged our Earl forth to battle; who, immediately answering to the summons, caused the castle-gate to be opened, and made so fierce a sally, that the Barons were defeated, the Comte of Perche slain, and Louis, captured in the church, was immediately taken to the high altar, and required to swear, upon the gospels and holy relics there deposited, that he renounced his claim to the crown of England, and would forthwith depart the realm. This done, Earl Ranulph sent for young Henry, who also had been placed under the protection of the Church, whilst his fate was dependent on the issue of the battle, and lay concealed in a cow-shed belonging to Bardney Abbey. On his arrival he was placed upon the altar (that is, we may suppose, upon the steps of the high altar) by the Earl of Chester, who gave him seisin of the kingdom as his inheritance, by the delivery of a white rod in lieu of a sceptre, doing his homage to him, as did the other peers then present.

Earl Ranulph's hereditary claim to the Earldom of Lincoln was, on this important change in affairs, immediately admitted; and, by writ[7] dated at Lincoln on the 23rd of May, only four days after the battle, the sheriff of Lincolnshire was commanded to render to him the third penny of the county.

[6] The historical particulars here given are derived from the chronicle of Walter de Wittlesey.

[7] Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. III., m. 17.

Seal and Counterseal of Ranulph Earl of Chester and Lincoln
1217—1232.

Hawise de Quincy, Countess of Lincoln

1232.

which (it was added) belonged to him by hereditary right derived from his father Ranulph—meaning, of course, his grandfather Ranulph, the son of the Countess Lucy, for, as already stated, his father's name was Hugh. In this writ he is styled Earl of Chester; but in a similar writ,[8] dated the 15th of March following, he is expressly styled Earl of Chester and Lincoln, and the third penny, to be taken of the monies arising from the pleas of the county of Lincoln, was to be received by the name of Earl of Lincoln—percipiendum nomine Comitis Lincolniæ. This dignity he retained for fourteen or fifteen years; but shortly before his death, which occurred at the castle of Wallingford, in Berkshire, on the 28th Oct. 1232, he transferred the Earldom of Lincoln, by a charter[9] which is still extant in the British Museum, to his sister Hawise de Quency. This important charter is burdened with no superfluity of words. The terms of the transfer are simply these: "Be it known to all &c., that I have given to the lady Hawise de Quency my dearest sister the Earldom of Lincoln as fully as it hath pertained to me, to hold of my lord the King of England and his heirs to the same Hawise and her heirs freely, quietly, fully, peacefully, and entirely, by hereditary right, with all its appurtenances and all the liberties appertaining to the said Earldom." The charter bears a Seal of green wax, made on a cord of knotted silk, as shown in the accompanying engraving.

Hawise de Quency was a widow, having one daughter Margaret, married to John de Lacy, who became the next Earl of Lincoln. Her husband had been Robert de Quency, eldest son of Saher, Earl of Winchester; and nothing further is known of his history, excepting that, after the decease of his father, who died in Palestine in the year 1220, his next brother Roger had livery of their father's lands, because Robert also was then absent in the same holy voyage.[1] It appears, therefore, that he too was one of that large proportion of pilgrims of whom it has been said that there were *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. The Countess Hawise, on the par-

[8] Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. III., m. 9.
[9] Printed in the Topographer and Genealogist, vol. i. p. 313.
[1] Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. III., m. 15.

tition of the Earl of Chester's lands between his four sisters and co-heirs, received for her share all the lands in the provinces of Lindsey and Holland, of which the castle and manor of Bolingbroke was the *caput honoris:*[2] paying on that occasion fifty pounds, as her relief.[3] Immediately after her brother's death, she transferred the dignity of Earl of Lincoln to her son-in-law John de Lacy. This arrangement was completed and confirmed by a royal charter, which is dated at Northampton on the 23rd Nov. 1232—that is, within a month after the death of the Earl of Chester. In terms equally simple with those employed on the last transfer of the Earldom, the King declared, that, at the request of Hawise de Quency, he had granted to John de Lascy, constable of Chester, those twenty pounds which Ranulph, late Earl of Chester and Lincoln, had received as the third penny of the county of Lincoln, *by the name of Earl of Lincoln*, and which the said Earl had in his life given to the said Hawise his sister: and which twenty pounds John de Lascy was to have and hold *by the name of Earl of Lincoln*, to him and his heirs issuing of Margaret his wife, the daughter of the said Hawise, for ever.[4]

The Seal of the Countess Hawise exists in an imperfect impression in the British Museum.[5] The circular device in the centre is slightly sunk, and it was possibly a large antique intaglio, set into the matrix. Above and below, is placed a mascle, the armorial bearing of Quency, her husband's family.

John de Lacy was descended from Ilbert de Lacy, lord of Pontefract by gift of the Conqueror; and he was hereditary constable to the Earls of Chester. He lived for eight years as Earl of Lincoln, and died on the 22d July, 1240. His Seal is inscribed "Sigillum Johannis de Lascy comitis Lincolnie

[2] Rot. Claus., 17 Hen. III., m. 17.

[3] Rot. Pip., 17 Hen. III., Linc.

[4] Pat. 17 Hen. III., m. 9, No. 25; Coucher book, Duchy Lanc., ii. f. 477 b. "I take this to be the first precedent that appears upon record of entailing an honour to the heirs of the body." Opinion of the late Francis Townsend, Esq. Windsor Herald, in Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. vol. vii. p. 131.

[5] Harl. Cart. 55 B. 8. This charter is published in the Topogr. and Genealogist, vol. i. p. 320.

Seal and Counterseal of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln
1232—1240.

et constabularii Cestrie." The arms it exhibits are blazoned thus: Quarterly or and gules, a bend sable.

On the Seal of his Countess Margaret the same arms are displayed on her robe, and placed on a shield held in her right hand; whilst on her left side is a shield of a lion rampant, probably intended for the arms of the Earldom of Lincoln.

Margaret his widow was shortly after his death re-married to Walter Marshal, the fourth of five brothers who successively inherited the Earldom of Pembroke. He had only attained that dignity by the accidental death of his brother Gilbert in the year 1241. In the following year (after some difficulty, owing to the disfavour in which he stood with the King,) he both obtained livery of his own lands and of the office of Marshal, and also of the lands which were of the dower of Margaret his wife;[6] and in the next year he paid relief for such lands as Hawise de Quency, his wife's mother, held *in capite*.[7]

Earl Walter Marshal died without issue on the 24th Nov. 1246, being survived by the Countess Margaret, who in her subsequent charters styled herself Countess of Lincoln and Pembroke.[8] It is nearly certain that she also survived her son Edmund de Lacy, and this would be the reason why he was never allowed the Earldom,[9]—as in the case of the

[6] Rot. Claus., 26 Hen. III, m. 2.

[7] Rot. Pip. 27 Hen. III.

[8] Charter to John Beke. Cart. Harl. 52 H. 44. It has lost its seal.

[9] Dugdale says (Baronage, i. 103,) "As to the title of Earl of Lincoln, he never used it; nor was it ever attributed to him in any grant; though he enjoyed the *tertium denarium* of that county, as may be seen by a record of after time (Claus. 4 Edw. II., m. 22);" but the authority of "a record of after time" cannot be admitted in such a point, and it had already received its reply from Sir Peter Leycester, as follows: "And howbeit Vincent upon Brook, p. 318, cites a record out of the close rolls to prove that this Edmund, by way of recitation, had *tertium denarium comitatus Lincolniæ*, yet certain it is that he was never styled, in any of his charters, by the title of Comes Lincolniæ, but only Edmundus Laey constabularius Cestriæ." Dugdale's assertion, in fact, involves a contradiction: if Edmund had enjoyed the third penny, he would *ipso facto* have been the Earl. It is true that Matthew Paris styles Edmund de Lacy "Earl of Lincoln" on the occasion of his marriage in 1247; and even in a formal document, being letters of safe conduct to the King and Queen of Scotland in 1255 (Rymer, i. 563), he has this title ascribed to him; but this must be regarded as of courtesy, and merely as an acknowledgment of his right in expectancy. We have met with a similar case in the third William de Roumare, already noticed; and so the second William Longespée was sometimes called Earl, though the Earldom of Salisbury was still vested in his mother. Occasionally we read of the *junior* Earl Marshal, or the *junior* Earl Ferrars, &c., which were similar titles of courtesy.

Earldom of Salisbury and the second William Longespée, who died before his mother the Countess Ela, with whom it had come to his father. Edmund de Lacy, constable of Chester, died on the 5th June, 1258.

Henry de Lacy, his son and heir, was admitted to the degree of knighthood together with Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, and fifty-four other gallant bachelors, upon the feast day of St. Edward, in the year 1272; and on the same occasion the young Edmund of Almaine and he were each girt by King Henry the Third with the swords of the respective Earldoms of Cornwall and of Lincoln.[1] It was, however, five years after before he received livery of the fee which his ancestors usually received *nomine comitis Lincolnie*, with all the arrears from the time of his investiture.[2]

Instead of the ancient arms of Lacy displayed on the shield of his grandfather, Earl Henry bears on his Seal a rampant lion, which was probably considered as the arms of the Earldom of Lincoln. In a counter-seal, different to that now engraved, he has the old arms of Lacy, with a garb of Chester on either side;[3] and in a smaller or privy seal he bears the shield of the lion, with a lion on either side, as the dragons appear on this counter-seal, but the lions turn their backs to the shield, and are guardant.[4]

Having enjoyed the Earldom of Lincoln for forty years, and united to it the Earldom of Salisbury in right of his wife Margaret, heiress of the house of Longespée, Henry de Laci died in the year 1312, at his house in the suburbs of London, which has ever since retained the name of Lincoln's Inn. He had lost two sons by similar untimely deaths,—Edmund the elder having been drowned in a well within the castle of Denbigh, and John the younger having fallen from one of the towers of Pontefract,[5] whilst attempting to run

[1] I have gathered this from Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. pp. 103, 765, and he derived it through Glover's Collections from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (K. 84, Cant.), but I am not aware whose chronicle that may be. But Leland quotes, "Ex annalibus Thomæ Wike canonici de Oseney;" that "Anno D. 1272, Henricus Lacy factus miles et comes Lincoln." Collectanea, edit. 1715, vol. i. p. 419.

[2] Claus., 5 Edw. I., m. 8.

[3] MS. Cotton. Julius, C. vii. f. 195.

[4] Ibid. f. 147, b.

[5] Dugdale, Baronage, i. 106; and Monasticon, ii. 188.

Seal and Counterseal of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln
72—31.

round its battlements,—and when he was thus left without male issue, his only daughter, Alice, in consideration of her great inheritance, was bestowed in marriage on a prince of the blood royal,

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, grandson of King Henry III. This potent and popular nobleman, already Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, acquired also, in right of his wife, a title to the Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into biographical details, even if the particulars of his public career were less known than they are : but an anecdote connected with the latter days of his life may be introduced, as showing how far Earldoms were then deemed to be alienable possessions in England. It is said that when the Earl of Lancaster (then in arms against the royal authority as administered by the Despensers,) was encountered near Boroughbridge by the sheriff of Yorkshire and Sir Andrew de Harcla, warden of the marches towards Scotland, he attempted to overcome the loyalty of the latter by offering to transfer to him one of those five Earldoms which he had in possession.[6] In acknowledgment of his services and fidelity on this occasion, Sir Andrew was made an earl, by the title of Earl of Carlisle; but the next year he was deprived of that dignity, with memorable ceremonies of degradation.

The Earl of Lancaster was beheaded at Pontefract on the 22nd of March, 1322. His marriage, which had not been blessed with children, had terminated unhappily some years before : for a divorce had been pronounced, in connection with scandalous stories concerning the lady, which need not be here introduced. However, on his attainder, the Countess Alice, like other ladies suffering under such misfortunes, was forced to enter into a compromise with the Crown in regard to her inheritance. On the 27th June, 1322, she became bound under a penalty of 20,000*l.* not to alienate any of her possessions without the King's special license ;[7] and she immediately afterwards executed deeds of conveyance of all her

[6] Leland's Collectanea, edit. 1715, vol. i. p. 464.
[7] Rot. Pat., 15 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 3.

lands to the King, his heirs, and assigns for ever. The King then granted back, for her support, Giffard's castle in Wales, and several manors, including that of Holborn, to hold during her life, with reversion to Hugh le Despenser the younger and his heirs. On the 20th December he also restored to her for life the twenty pounds *pro tertio denario Comitatus Linc.*, and she thus again became COUNTESS OF LINCOLN. She was shortly afterwards married to Ebulo le Strange, younger son of the lord Strange of Knokyn, and in 18 Edw. II. she had livery of the court of the fee of De la Hay and of the gaol standing before the gate of Lincoln castle, as also of the annuity of 20*l.* as the third penny of the county of Lincoln.[8] In 19 Edw. II. the sheriff of Lincolnshire received a further mandamus to pay all arrears of the annuity for the Earldom of Lincoln to the said Ebulo or Alice, or their attorney, and to continue to pay the said annuity,[9] and from this circumstance Ebulo le Strange has been by some writers ranked among the Earls; but (though he is so styled in a charter of his nephew and heir Roger le Strange, a°. 13 Edw. III.[1]) it is certain that he never really enjoyed that honour, (unless possibly by courtesy,) for he was summoned to Parliament as a Baron only, from that period to his death, which happened in 1335. In a petition to Parliament, 4 Edw. III., when he and his wife claimed the restoration of her inheritance, and in the charter of such restoration which followed, he is only styled Ebulo Lestrange, nor does his *inquisitio post mortem* give him any other title, though it calls his wife Countess of Lincoln. He died without issue in the campaign in Scotland, about Michaelmas, 1335; and the lady, who was then about fifty-three years of age, had before the 8th of July in the following year taken a third husband, named Hugh de Freyne, a knight of Artois.[2] He also, in

[8] Rot. Claus., 18 Edw. II., m. 23. In this record we see the ancient perquisites of the two hereditary offices of Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Lincoln Castle united, having been brought together by the marriage of Henry de Lacy and Margaret Longespée. Margaret was fourth in descent from Nicholaa, wife of Gerard de Camville, the original heiress of Hay, whose successful defence of Lincoln Castle has been noticed in a former page. Nicholaa was mother of Richard de Camville, father of Idonea, the wife of William Longespée II. They had issue William Longespée III., the father of Margaret, Countess of Lincoln.

[9] Rot. Claus., 19 Edw. II., m. 10.

[1] Collectanea Top. et Geneal., vi. 151.

[2] Who, at that date, obtained livery of

consequence of this marriage, was summoned to Parliament, but only in the rank of a Baron, on the 29th Nov. and 14th Jan. following, but died in the month of December, between those two summonses, likewise in Scotland, at St. John's town, now Perth.[3]

Alice, Countess of Lincoln, died on the 2nd of October, 1348, being then sixty-seven years of age; and her body was buried in the conventual church of Barlings, in Lincolnshire, near that of Ebulo, her second husband.[4] Her inheritance, thereupon, devolved on her first husband's nephew, HENRY, EARL OF LANCASTER; for so it had been arranged in case of failure of her issue, when Earl Henry, her father, surrendered his estates to the Crown, to be resettled upon her marriage.

By letters patent, dated the 20th August, 1349, Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Derby, was created Earl of Lincoln, with the annual fee of 20*l.* in lieu of the third penny, as in former cases. In 1351 he was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Lancaster. In his will, made at his Castle of Leicester in 1361, he styles himself, "Henry duc de Lancastre, counte de Derby, de Nichol, and de Leicestre, seneschal d'Engletere, seigneur de Bruggerak et de Beufort."

Blanche, his daughter and ultimately sole heir, was married to JOHN OF GHENT, the fourth son of King Edward III.; and John of Ghent assumed, in consequence, the title of Earl of Lincoln, as is shown by his privy seal,[5] in which his style is thus set forth :—John, Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Richmond, Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Steward of England.

In connection with Lincoln, it may here be mentioned that, in 1396, John of Ghent was married in this city to his third wife, Katharine Swinford, already the mother of his children the Beauforts. She seems to have continued to reside at Lincoln after the Duke's death; and dying on the 10th May, 1403, she was buried in the Cathedral.[6]

the Castle of Builth, in Wales, which had been previously granted to Ebulo le Strange. MS. Dodsworth, vol. lxxxiv. p. 41.

[3] Walsingham.

[4] Monasticon Angl., ii. 190.

[5] Engraved in Sandford's Genealogical History of England, and in Nichols's History of Leicestershire.

[6] Walsingham, Hist. Angl.

John, Duke of Lancaster, died in 1399; and his son, Henry of Bolingbroke,—probably the only English King that Lincolnshire can boast as its native, who up to that time had been generally styled the Earl of Derby, in the same year ascended the throne as King Henry IV. Thus was the Earldom of Lincoln at last merged in the Crown as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster.

At the coronation of Henry IV., the King appointed his half-brother, John, Earl of Somerset (the eldest illegitimate son of John of Ghent), to perform the office of Carver, appertaining of right to the Earldom of Lincoln; and which their father, John, then King of Castile and Leon, in right of this Earldom, had performed at the preceding coronation of Richard II. by his deputy, Hugh, Earl of Stafford.

The title of Earl of Lincoln was not, however, distinctly revived until, in 1467, King Edward IV. conferred it on his nephew, John de la Pole, son and heir apparent of the Duke of Suffolk. Twenty years after, he died without issue.

Again, in the year 1525, King Henry VIII. bestowed this dignity in precisely the same way on his sister's son, Henry Brandon, son and heir apparent of Charles, Duke of Suffolk. But this time it was very short-lived, for this Earl died in childhood.

Lastly, the Earldom of Lincoln was conferred by Queen Elizabeth on the Lord Admiral Clinton, in whose family it has descended, as noticed at the commencement of this paper, to the present Duke of Newcastle.

In order to show at one view the descent of the Earldom of Lincoln, as traced in the present memoir, a catalogue of the Earls is here subjoined, after the model of Sir Harris Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage; but comprising, it will be seen, very different results from those to which that writer was led by the authorities on which he relied for information :—

EARLS OF LINCOLN.

I.—1140. William de Roumare, son of Lucy, Countess of Chester, and a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon lords of Lincolnshire: made Earl of Lincoln by King Stephen, in 1140; died before 1168, his grandson and heir being then under age.

II.—1141. Gilbert de Gant, became Earl on his marriage with the Countess Roheis, another descendant from the same Anglo-Saxon race; was Earl contemporaneously with William de Roumare; died 1156, without male heir.

1216. Gilbert de Gant, nephew and heir male to the preceding, but having no right of inheritance to this dignity; made Earl of Lincoln by Prince Louis of France, but never obtained full possession of the dignity.

III.—1217. Ranulph de Blondeville, Earl of Chester, great-grandson of the Countess Lucy first mentioned; confirmed Earl of Lincoln in 1217; died 1232, having shortly before his death transferred this earldom, by charter, to his fourth daughter,—

IV.—1232. Hawise de Quency, widow of Robert de Quency.

V.—1232. John de Lascy, Constable of Chester, having married Margaret, daughter of the Countess Hawise, confirmed Earl of Lincoln, by royal charter, November 23, 1232; died 1258.

VI.—1258. Henry de Lacy, son and heir; also Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, Margaret de Longespée; died 1272.

VII.—1272. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, having married Alice, only daughter and heir of Earl Henry de Lacy; beheaded 1322.

VIII.—1322. Alice, widow of the last earl; restored to her ancestral dignity of Countess of Lincoln nine months after her husband's death; died 1348.

IX.—1349. Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Derby, nephew and heir to Earl Thomas; created Earl of Lincoln 20th August, 1349; created Duke of Lancaster, 1351; died 1361.

X.—1362. John of Ghent, Earl of Richmond, fourth son of King Edward III., having married Blanche, daughter and heiress of Duke Henry, was created Duke of Lancaster, and also used, among his other titles, that of Earl of Lincoln; died 1399. His son, Henry, Earl of Derby, in the following year, became King by the title of Henry the Fourth, and the representation of this ancient dignity became merged in the Crown.

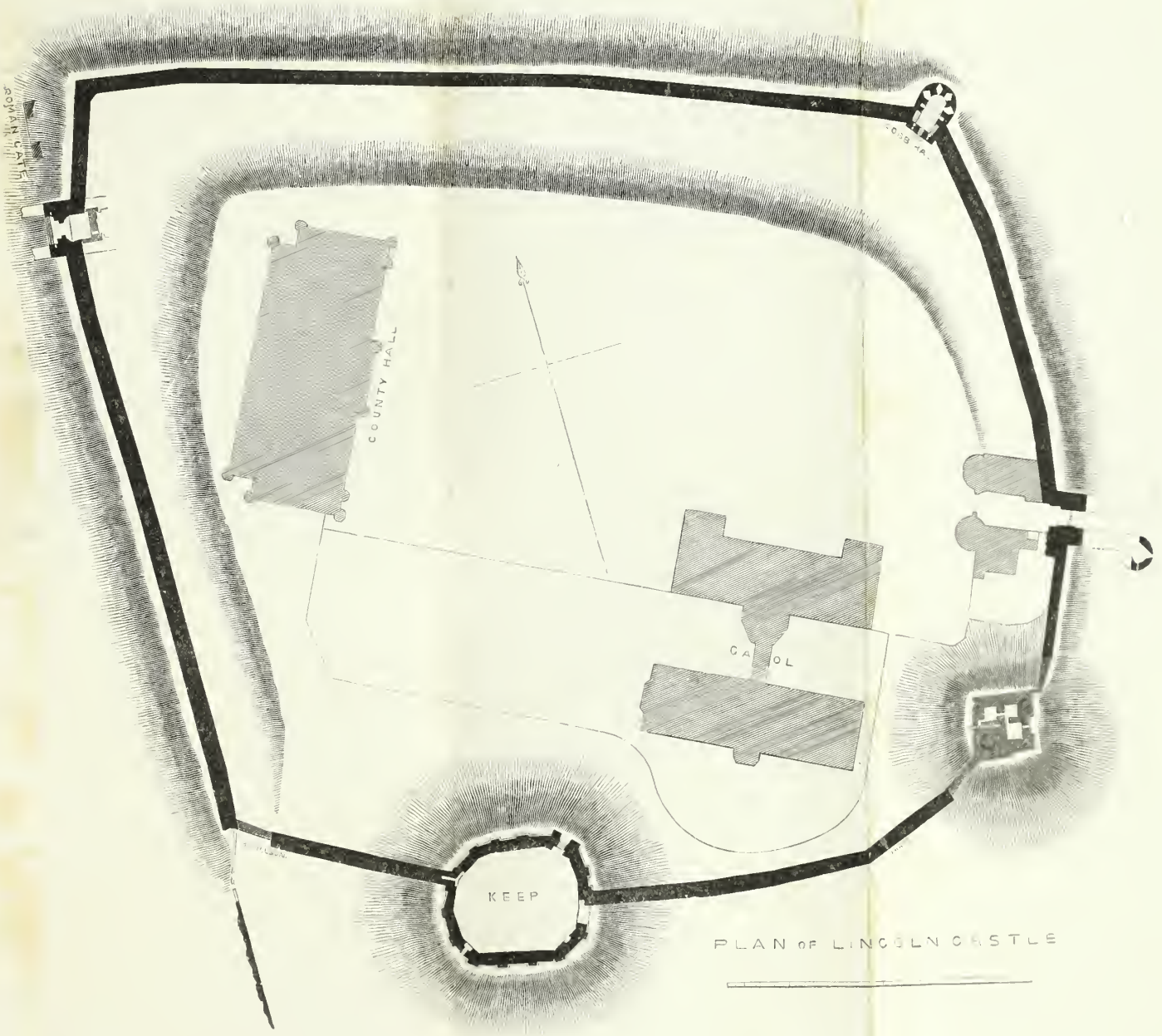
LINCOLN CASTLE.

Lincoln Castle was one of the eight fortresses which William the Conqueror is known to have erected in different parts of England, immediately after he had established his dominion over this country. Lincoln was at that time considered one of the most important and populous cities in the kingdom, as our old historians all testify. One quarter of the upper town, originally built in a quadrangular form by the Romans, and fortified with walls, and four gates, was sacrificed on this occasion. We learn from Domesday-Book that a hundred and sixty-six mansions were destroyed "*propter castellum*,"—meaning, no doubt, that they had been pulled down to clear the site for the new fortress.

Some persons have supposed that a castle existed here in the Saxon times, but without any authority; and the contrary is apparent from the brief but decisive statements in the record above quoted.

From its first foundation by William the Conqueror, the Castle, with the Bail, or liberty attached to it, continued to form parcel of the royal demesnes, until the reign of Edward I. By his special charter, King Stephen conferred on Ranulph (or Ralph) de Gernons, Earl of Chester, the castle and city of Lincoln, to enjoy until he should be restored to his lands in Normandy, and castles there; and thereupon gave him leave to fortify one of the towers in Lincoln Castle, and to have the command thereof, until he should deliver unto him the castle of Tickhill, in Yorkshire; which being done, the King to have the city and castle of Lincoln again, except the Earl's own tower, which his mother had fortified; as also the constableship of that castle, and of the whole county, which belonged to him by hereditary right.[1] This

[1] See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 39, &c.



PLAN OF LINCOLN CASTLE

From an Original Survey, by Edward J. Willson, Esq., F.S.A.

grant was made probably in the latter part of King Stephen's reign; for before that time the Earl of Chester, who was a stirring warrior, had joined the party of the Empress Maud, or Matilda, who claimed the English crown as her inheritance.

In 1140, the Empress Maud got possession of the city and castle of Lincoln, which she fortified, and stored with provisions and ammunition, in expectation of a siege from her opponent, King Stephen. The expected assault soon followed, and Lincoln was taken by Stephen; but the Empress had found means to escape secretly. The castle was shortly afterwards surprised by Ralph, Earl of Chester, who, with his wife and his half-brother, William de Romara, Lord of Bolingbrook, and first Earl of Lincoln, took up their abode here, and prepared to celebrate the Christmas festivities in the castle with their friends. But the citizens of Lincoln, who favoured the King's interest, sent him notice of the Earl's occupation of the castle, which was not in a condition to make any great defence. Stephen, who was indefatigably active, immediately hastened to Lincoln, and invested the castle on Christmas-day, the citizens assisting in the attack.

The two Earls, apprehensive of being taken prisoners, contrived for the younger brother, the Earl of Chester, to sally forth and make his escape, which was effected. He went to the Empress, to beg assistance for the rescue of his wife and brother, whom he had left besieged; and being joined by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and raising forces in his own county of Chester, and amongst the Welch, returned towards Lincoln with great expedition. They forded the river Trent on Candlemas-day, and formed a camp very near to the castle. King Stephen was soon ready to meet his enemies; and a severe battle ensued, in which Stephen himself, after fighting at the head of a body of foot-soldiers with desperate courage, until both his battle-axe and sword were broken, was knocked down by a great stone, and a knight seizing hold of the nasal of his helmet, secured him as his prisoner. The unfortunate prince was imprisoned in the castle of Bristol, where he was treated with vindictive indignity; but was delivered in exchange for the Earl of Gloucester half-

brother to the Empress, who had been made prisoner, and was then confined in Rochester Castle, in the custody of William of Ypres. King Stephen's affairs becoming more prosperous, the Earl of Chester again taking part with him, and yielding up several castles which he had held, a treaty was agreed upon, and King Stephen celebrated Christmas with great solemnity at Lincoln, in 1144.

By the deed of pacification made in 1153, which at length put an end to the contentions for the crown, which had harassed the kingdom almost eighteen years, it was stipulated in one of the articles that Lincoln Castle should be put into the hands of Jordan de Bussey, as governor, who was to swear that he would yield it up to Prince Henry, or whom he should appoint, immediately after the death of King Stephen.[2]

King Richard I. committed the custody of the castle and city of Lincoln to Gerard de Camville, whom he appointed sheriff of the county; but he was deprived of these offices in a parliament, or great council, held at Nottingham in 1194. It would seem, however, that a new grant was made to this baron, for it was stated in an Inquisition respecting the castle of Lincoln, taken A° 3, Ed. I. (1274-5) that Nichola de la Hay, who had married Gerard de Camville, held this castle, after the death of her husband, at the will of King John, both in peace and war. "And once it happened that, after the war, King John came to Lincoln, and the said Lady Nichola went out of the eastern gate of the castle, carrying the keys of the castle in her hand, and met the King, and offered the keys to him, as her lord, and said she was a woman of great age, and had sustained much labour and anxiety in the said castle, and was unable to bear such fatigue any longer. And the King graciously said she should still retain the keys if she pleased; and so she kept the said castle all the life of King John, and after his decease she still kept it under King Henry, the father of the King that now is."[3] This lady, who appears to have been a woman of distinguished talents, was constituted sheriff of

[2] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. 1. 25.

[3] This Inquisition is printed in Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 282.

the whole county ; John Philip de Mare being appointed as her assistant ;[4] and the Lordship of Munden was assigned to her, for the better maintenance of her office. Afterwards she retired to her manor of Swaneton,[5] and died in 1231.

In the war which broke out between King John and the Barons, Lincoln was assaulted and taken by Gilbert de Gaunt, whom Prince Louis, the Dauphin of France, created Earl of Lincoln ; this happened in 1216. The castle, however, still held out for the King ; and the city was abandoned by the victorious party on the expected approach of John. His days were soon terminated by death, at Newark castle, 9th October, in the same year. After the decease of King John, the citizens of Lincoln supported the rights of his son and successor, Henry III., against Prince Louis and the insurgent barons, and the city was besieged by them. At length Falco de Breauté, a powerful baron, on the King's side, succeeded in reinforcing the garrison of the castle, and the Earl of Pembroke coming up to assail the besiegers, the confederates were defeated. This battle was fought 19th May, 1217 ; and it served to quell the contention, peace being restored soon afterwards.

During the reign of Henry III. Lincoln Castle was some time in the custody of Philip de Lascells, and of Walter de Everum ; after which the same king granted the office of constable to William de Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, in fee ; and at his death it came to his son, William, who married Idonea, the daughter and heiress of Richard de Camville. This earl was slain in the crusade, at Damietta, A.D. 1250, leaving a daughter named Margaret, who was sometimes called the Countess of Salisbury. During her minority, Queen Eleanor held Lincoln Castle for her as her ward ; and afterwards, by her marriage with Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, he became entitled to it as tenant by courtesy. His daughter, Alice, becoming heiress to his estates and titles, by the premature death of her two brothers in their

[4] Falco de Breant, or de Breauté, was ordered to assist her in the defence of the castle. The name of this warrior is variously spelt by the antient chroniclers. In a charter of 1152, he signs it as *Falcasius de Breant.* Rymer, tom 1. 148.

[5] Swaton, near Falkingham, co. Lincoln.

father's life-time, married Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby; who became, in her right, also, Earl of Lincoln. This lady married twice after the death of her first husband, who was attainted and beheaded at Pontefract, in 1321; but, having no issue, she, by her deed, bequeathed all her inheritance and honours to Henry of Monmouth, the son of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, the brother of her first husband. She died at Michaelmas, 1348; from which time the castle and bail of Lincoln continued to be held by this Earl of Lancaster, who was created a Duke in 1353, until his death; when they passed, by the marriage of his daughter, Blanch, to Prince John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III., who, in her right, was created Duke of Lancaster, and Earl of Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby. The bail and castle of Lincoln thus became annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster; and so continued until the year 1832, when the magistrates of the county were empowered, by act of parliament, to purchase the castle of the King, as Duke of Lancaster. The custody of felons, and other prisoners, within the county, (but exclusive of the city of Lincoln, with its own county or liberty), always appertained to the constableship of the castle; and the assizes and sheriff's courts were always held in the hall of the castle.

On the eve of the civil war, in the reign of Charles I., an order of both houses of parliament was made, dated 9th January, 1642-3, that the high sheriff of the county, and —— Smith, the gaoler and keeper of the castle, do forthwith remove his prisoners out of the castle, to some safe and secure place. The castle was ordered to be delivered into the hands of the Earl of Lincoln, and to be speedily fortified. The royalists afterwards obtained possession of the castle, as well as of the city; but, in May, 1644, they were both taken by the parliamentary forces, under the command of the Earl of Manchester; Sir Francis Fane being then the governor of the castle.[6]

The general outlines of the castle will be best explained by the engraved plan, in which the ancient parts are dis-

[6] Rushworth's Historical Collection, vol. v., &c.

tinguished by a dark shade from the modern buildings. The crooked and irregular lines of the walls seem to indicate that they were built in haste ; probably by the forced labour of the neighbouring people. The situation of this castle, on a dry limestone rock, made it impossible to surround it with water ; but wide and deep ditches were excavated on all sides, and broad and high mounds were raised within the circuit of the ditches, to form foundations for the walls.[7] These dry fosses would make the approach of assailants very difficult, and prevent their setting battering engines near to the walls. The keep, or principal tower, stands separately upon a high mound, and the ditches entirely surround its base, the castle walls on the south side of the great quadrangle not being raised upon mounds, so that the keep completely overlooks them, and was defensible independently of the rest of the castle. The masonry of the castle walls, wherever the original facing remains, is very rude, the stones being laid together in unhewn masses ; but the whole was so well grouted and filled up with good mortar that the substance of the work is mostly sound and firm. In some parts, the walls were faced with thin stones, set diagonally, the courses leaning alternately to the right hand and to the left, in what is called the *herring-bone* fashion, which has misled some persons to take these parts for Roman work ; but the Norman masonry of this sort bore only a superficial resemblance to the Roman ; the oblique position of the stones being only found on the outsides : whereas, the Romans carried the same method of laying the stones through the whole thickness of their work as we find in the old city walls of Lincoln. The extensive repairs that were made in the walls and towers of Lincoln Castle, since it was purchased by the magistrates for the use of the county, brought to light some curious particulars of their ancient form and construction. The bottom courses of masonry were found to have been set upon frames of rough timber, in which three or four parallel lines of beams were laid upon the rubble on which the walls were to be raised, and these lines were crossed, at short distances, by

[7] The bottom of these ditches has been partly filled up, and their depth lessened.

other beams, to hold them in their right places. All this timber-work had decayed and fallen to dust in those parts that were discovered, but the cavities in the walls showed plainly the forms and sizes of the beams.

Sir Henry Ellis has remarked, in his very valuable "Introduction to Domesday Book," when speaking of the forty-nine castles mentioned in that record, "It is singular that the ruins which are now remaining of almost all these castles have preserved one feature of uniformity. They are each distinguished by a Mount and Keep: marking the peculiar style of architecture introduced into our castellated fortifications by the Normans at their first settlement. The castles of Dover, Nottingham, and Durham, known to have been built by the Conqueror, with the *White Tower* in the Tower of London, are unnoticed in the Survey."[8] The accuracy of the above remark has been questioned;[9] but it appears to be true that a round or polygonal keep, raised upon a mound, is one distinctive feature of almost all the castles erected immediately after the Norman conquest. Hence arises a question of the greatest interest in the history of castellated architecture; viz., how, and at what period, was the round tower, with its proper mound, superseded by the lofty square tower, which needed not to be so elevated at its base? From my own observations on the subject, I am induced to believe that the round keep, built on a mound, was the prevailing style for a castle at the period of the Conquest, and had been so for a long time before; and that the first castles built here by the Normans were erected hastily, without any attempt at a new style; but that soon afterwards, when the country had become more settled, the stately quadrangular tower, which required a longer time and greater skill for its construction, obtained the preference over the older and simpler form. We may here remark that

[8] General Introduction to Domesday Book, vol. i. p. 233. 1833.

[9] In the charter executed in the year 1153, by King Stephen and Prince Henry, for the succession of the latter to the throne of England, the castles of Norwich, Wallingford, &c. are denominated *castra*; the *Tower* of London is specified by its proper name. Windsor and Oxford castles are described by the term *mota*; and this castle as "*firmitas* Lincolnie." Rymer's Fœdera, tom. i. pt. 1, 18.

Arundel Castle, in Sussex, which still presents one of the most perfect examples of the round keep built upon a mound, is expressly recognised in Domesday Book as existing in the time of King Edward the Confessor. Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, who came into that see in 1077, and died in March, 1107-8, has the credit of inventing the lofty castellated keep. That of Rochester Castle was begun by him, but was not finished until fifty years after his death. The Tower of London, which has also been attributed to him, was probably not built when Domesday Book was compiled, as it is not mentioned therein. Its distinctive name of the *Tower* may have originated in the novelty of its plan.

A satisfactory investigation of this curious subject is far beyond the limits of this paper; and, therefore, it shall be passed over, with a suggestion that no real elucidation can be expected from imaginary theories, such as some writers on ancient architecture have set up for the amusement of themselves and their friends; it being only by careful and strict examination, both of the buildings themselves, as well as of the historical records relating to them, that a true knowledge of such a difficult question can be obtained.

The keep of Lincoln Castle originally consisted of two stories, but the upper one has been totally destroyed. The plan is an irregular polygon, measuring above ninety feet from east to west, and eighty feet from north to south, including the walls. It has two entrances; one opening outwards, towards the south-west,—the other inwards, facing the north-east. The inner gate is the largest, and has a handsome porch, vaulted with a semicircular arch, formed of a double course of stone very neatly wrought, but quite plain. The arch is inclosed by a carved hood-mould, and has small imposts at the springing. The inner arch, immediately over the door, is a segment less than a semicircle; and the arches of the opposite entrance are also of that form. Both these entrances were carefully restored, in the recent repairs of the castle, from the fragments that remained; for the arches had been broken down and the openings walled up. The buttresses at the angles, the chamfered courses round

the base, &c., were also restored in exact accordance with the original work. The inside of the keep, which is now open, and serves as a burial-place for criminals who have suffered the last penalty of the law, probably had a small court in the centre, into which the doors and windows of the lower rooms opened ; for there was no window, nor even a loop-hole for light, in the outer walls. It is likely, too, that a well was sunk within the keep for the supply of water in a time of siege. On the west side are still the remains of a privy-closet, constructed within the thickness of the main wall, to which a narrow flight of stone steps gave access. There is a small loop-hole for light, opening towards the castle-yard, and a drain with a sloping stone at its outlet on the same side. A small square room formerly adjoined to the eastern side of the keep, which has been totally demolished. The lower story appeared to have been covered by a groined vault, springing from four small round shafts, placed in the angles. There was a chimney on the north-side of this room, and a staircase adjoining to it which led to the upper story.

The name of *Lucy Tower* was formerly attached to the keep of Lincoln Castle, and so continued down to a recent time. It has been improperly transferred to a small round tower which formed the termination of the city wall at the south-west angle, next to Brayford-water. Only a fragment of this tower is now standing, incorporated in the front of a modern warehouse. This erroneous change of name seems to have originated in a statement of Dr. Stukeley ; who, in his "Itin. Curios." (p. 84 of the original edition, 1724), when describing Lincoln, says, after mentioning "*Maud*, the empress,"—"at the bottom of it, towards the water, is a round tower, called *Lucy Tower*, and famous in her history." Now, this tower was too small and insignificant to be ever of any importance or *famous in history* at any time ; but there is good evidence of the keep of the castle being called *Lucy* Tower, both in ancient and modern times.

This, it appears, was the tower described in the charter given by King Stephen to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to which

Sir William Dugdale refers, in the passage already cited. The name was derived from his mother, *Lucy*, the daughter of Algar, the Saxon Earl of Leicester; who was also the mother, by her first marriage, of William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln.

The keep was reduced to a mere shell at least as early as the reign of James I., as we learn from a survey dated in 1608. All the ancient domestic buildings of the castle had been demolished before that time; when only the county gaol, the keeper's house, with some offices, and a court-house are described. Of the great hall, the chapel, and other apartments of the ancient castle, we know nothing; but we may rest assured that there never was a square keep in the centre, as some have imagined; otherwise some traces of so important and durable a fabric would certainly have been discovered.

The south-east angle of the castle appears to have been guarded by a tower, set upon a mound of equal height with that of the keep. No certain plan or dimensions of the original work have been discovered; the ancient remains being covered and mixed up with some modern erections. There seems to have been a considerable mass of buildings in this quarter of the castle; and a communication was made with the chambers over the eastern gate, by a range of galleries, or narrow rooms, in two stories, abutting upon the outward wall of the castle.

The inner wall is destroyed, but its foundation may still be discerned. Some little windows, with semicircular arches over them, may be seen in the outer wall; and a semicircular recess was discovered in the side of an upper room, when the late repairs were made. A circular staircase was also found, which descended below the ground-floor, and then entered a subterraneous passage, which was traced a short distance towards the west, where it was stopped by ruins. All the ancient walls in this part of the castle bear indelible marks of fire, the stones having been made red-hot. It is the same in some other parts of the buildings.

The eastern gate, which is the only one now in use, shows

two ages of construction. The lower parts are of the original Norman style, roughly built, with thick and short blocks of stone, set with coarse mortar and wide joints. The arch over the gates is semicircular.[1] Above this work is a pointed arch, and the remains of a tower of good masonry, with two circular turrets, formerly containing staircases. The upper story has been destroyed, and only some ruinous portions remain. Probably it rose some fifteen or twenty feet higher when complete, and resembled Micklegate Bar or Monk Bar at York, being erected in the fourteenth century, as they also were. The barbican in front of this gate had two round towers, of which the outlines are shown in the plan; but this outwork was pulled down in the latter part of the last century, in order to make the approach to the castle wider and more convenient.

The western gate is now walled up, and has not been used for a long time. It appears to have been nearly similar to the eastern gate, but had no later additions erected upon it. The situation of this gate being very near to that of the Roman city, its principal arch was supposed by some antiquaries to have been actually part of the Roman gate; and to have afterwards been adopted and applied to their own purpose by the Norman builders of the castle. The late Sir Henry Englefield made an examination of these ruins, and several drawings, which were engraved in Vol. vi. of the Archaeologia. The learned baronet was too good a judge of architecture to mistake a Norman arch for a Roman one; but still he thought it might be of older date than the castle itself. The western gate of the Roman city was, however, accidentally discovered in 1836. It was found standing, covered up by the mound, or knoll, which formed the north-west bulwark of the castle. The arch was luxated by the giving way of one of its abutments; and the whole was so ruinous that it fell down a few days after the discovery had been made.[2]

[1] The modern doors are set in the grooves where the portcullis hung; the ancient ones were placed about six feet farther back.

[2] A good lithographic plate was published from a drawing taken by Mr. Samuel Tuke, just before the final ruin of these curious remains. The great arch

The north-east tower of the castle, called Cobb-Hall,[3] was probably erected at the same time with the front of the eastern gate and the barbican. Perhaps they were the works of John of Gaunt, who is said to have made great improvements in the castle, of which he was constable and hereditary possessor, being created Earl of Lincoln in right of his first wife.[4]

The uncommon form of this tower, which is round on the outward side, but square on the inner front, is shown in the plan. It contains two stories, both of which are vaulted with groined and pointed arches. The upper room has four narrow loops, deeply recessed in the outward walls, each of which is secured by a broad iron bar, set upright, with cross-bars passing through it; and the little cells, formed by the splaying of the jambs, are all furnished with great iron rings for the confinement of prisoners. Two small doors opened outwards upon the terraces below the eastern and northern walls of the castle. These doors, no doubt, were intended for use in case of an attack.[5] Beneath the floor of the principal apartment is a smaller dungeon, lighted by three loops, similar to the upper ones. The walls of these dungeons still bear marks of the efforts of some unhappy prisoners to amuse the dismal hours of their captivity, by cutting crosses and various figures on the walls. In the lower dungeon, the hunting of a stag has been engraved on a stone, by the

resembled that of Newport-gate, but there were no posterns to this gate. In the Gent. Mag. 1836, pt. i. p. 583, is an account of this discovery, with a view of the Roman gate.

[3] This odd name was probably given on account of this being formerly a place of temporary confinement for petty delinquents. *Cobbing* was a jocular term for the beating a poor rogue behind with a leathern belt.

[4] A quantity of stone balls, roughly cut, was found laid up in the recesses of these doors. They had been provided for use in some of the old engines of war.

[5] John of Gaunt is said to have resided in a mansion in the lower part of the city, which appears to have been very extensive and stately, but is now almost entirely demolished. An oriel, or bay-window, of the richest workmanship, was lately purchased from the remains of this palace by the Earl Brownlow, lord lieutenant of the county, and set up in the castle for future preservation. This curious window was engraved in the first volume of Pugin's Specimens of Gothic Architecture, 4to, 1821. It is of a later style than the time of John of Gaunt, and was more probably erected by his daughter, Joan Beaufort, the widow of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, who died at Lincoln, and was buried in the Minster, with her mother, Katharine, Duchess of Lancaster, A.D. 1440.

feeble light which one of the loops afforded to the poor artist.

The top of this tower, which now rises very little above the side-walls of the castle, was probably one story higher when perfect. It is now covered by a flat roof of lead, and here the execution of criminals is performed.

The restoration of the battlements on the castle-walls has greatly improved their appearance. The ancient battlements were probably thrown down after the cessation of the Civil War, two centuries ago, when most of the old English castles were "*slighted*" and made incapable of defence, by order of the Long Parliament. It is much to be lamented that the *mounds* and *dykes* on the outside of the walls have not been made public property, as well as the castle itself. Had this been done a few years since, before the ditches were encroached upon and filled up, Lincoln Castle would have presented a grand and picturesque specimen of the ancient fortress; but now, its stately walls are closely surrounded by masses of mean and vulgar buildings, whilst every year brings an increase of this intolerable nuisance, so that the "castle dykes" are become a reproach to the city.

THE DEANERY, LINCOLN.

The old residentiary-house of the Dean of Lincoln was a spacious mansion, inclosing a quadrangular court. The buildings were various in style and age, and had been much disfigured by successive repairs and alterations. The foundation has been attributed to Richard de Gravesend, who became Dean in 1254, and was promoted to the bishoprick four years afterwards;[1] but this statement is wrong, for the site had been purchased and the first buildings of the house erected by one of his predecessors, about the year 1190, when St. Hugh was Bishop of Lincoln. The deanery had its share in the calamities of the Civil War; and is described in the survey taken by the parliamentary commissioners,

[1] Gough's Camden, vol. ii., p. 371, edit. 1806.

Southern Entrance Tower, erected by Dean Flemyng, (1451—83.)

The Ancient Buildings of the Deanery, on the North Side of Lincoln Minster.

From Drawings by Mr. T. Willson, communicated by the Ven. the Archdeacon of Lincoln.

.86. Lincoln. The Chancery.

who made a strict valuation of all the property of the "late Dean and Chapter," in 1649, as being mostly in a ruinous state; and only worth by estimation £8 per annum, although the site is said to comprise about an acre of ground. The hall stood on the north side of the court. It was supported by two pillars, and the roof was covered with lead; but part of this had been stripped off and plundered. The great kitchen, the buttery, and other offices stood in the same range of buildings, all of which were demolished or quite altered in the repairs made after the restoration of the hierarchy in 1660. The southern entrance-tower, which was the best part of the old buildings lately remaining, was sometimes ascribed to Cardinal Wolsey, who held the deanery from 1509 to 1514, when he became Bishop of Lincoln; which dignity he quitted in the course of the same year for the archbishopric of York. But Dr. Robert Flemyng was really the builder; and his arms remained on both the north and south fronts of the tower. He also built the stables and chambers adjoining to the tower, as well as the porter's lodge and some other rooms, on the same side of the quadrangle. The lower chamber of the two apartments over the gateway had a door in one corner, opening into the cathedral library, which was built and furnished by the liberality of Dr. Michael Honywood, in the reign of Charles II.[2] In the upper chamber were two curious little windows with arched two-light heads, of the style of the fourteenth century. These had belonged to some other building, which Dean Flemyng had removed; and, when the tower was pulled down, many fragments of richly moulded jambs, and other details of the same style were found mixed up in the later work.

The destruction of Dean Flemyng's Tower was much regretted by all admirers of the picturesque antiquities of Lincoln, as it served to give an advantageous scale to the

[2] In the late Dr. T. F. Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, 1817, vol. iii., are some particulars of Dean Honywood and his library. A capital portrait of him, by Cornelius Jansen, is in the library. It was beautifully copied, on a miniature scale, by the late William Hilton, R.A., and engraved for Dr. Dibdin's work.

vast height of the cathedral tower, which rose majestically above it in certain points of view.[3]

The parliamentary surveyors describe "a fair Dining Chamber, with a fair Cant window," in the south part of the deanery. This "*fair cant window,*" which is shown in one of Hollar's views of the Cathedral in the Monasticon,[4] was taken down in the course of alterations made by the Hon. James Yorke, who became Dean of Lincoln in 1762, and held this dignity *in commendam* about twenty years; being bishop, first of St. David's, and afterwards of Gloucester.[5] It had been erected by Dr. Roger Parker, the initials of whose name, R. P., with the date of 1616, were engraved upon it. Dr. Samuel Fuller, who died in March, 1699-1770, after holding the deanery about four years, is said to have made extensive repairs in his mansion, and his arms were placed over the front door.

The whole of the old buildings were pulled down in the latter part of the year 1847, with the exception of some very ancient walls on the north side next to the street, called Eastgate, which were left standing to form a screen for the garden planted on the site of the old buildings. An ancient chimney, one of Dean Parker's windows, with many interesting pieces of mouldings and sculpture, taken out of the ruins by order of the present Dean, have been placed in front of this wall, on the side next to the new garden.

The new house has been erected a little eastward of the old buildings, where was formerly a garden. It is commodious, and well suited to the modern habits of life; and its mullioned windows, and other external details of architecture, bear so much resemblance to the old style, as to harmonise tolerably well with the surrounding scenery; the sober effects of colour which time alone can give, will gradually improve its appearance.

E. J. W.

[3] The deanery-tower is shown to advantage in a beautiful view of the Minster, on the north-west side, taken from the roof of the tower called Cobb-Hall, in the castle, by Mr. F. Mackenzie.

[4] Vol. iii. of the original edition.

[5] Dr. Yorke became Bishop of Ely in 1781, when he resigned this deanery.

ST. MARY'S CONDUIT, LINCOLN.

We learn from a passage in Leland's Itinerary that this curious little structure represented on the title page had been erected a short time before his visit to Lincoln, in 1540.[1] It is composed of materials brought from the dissolved convent of the Carmelite or White Friars, which stood on the opposite side of the street, where is now the Midland Railway Station. "Tempora mutantur!" Many delicate fragments of small niches, and other ornamental details, are inserted in the walls of the conduit; and at the back are some coats of arms, which have originally adorned the gable of a roof, as is shown by the oblique form of the panels in which the shields are inserted. The style of all these details is very late, and the chapel to which they belonged must have been built only a few years before the destruction of the convent to which it was attached.[2] The date of 1672 upon the north end of the building undoubtedly refers to some repair made at that time, when the two round balls that so ingeniously finish the gables were set up. There are three conduits of water in the city; this, which stands in front of St. Mary's Church, and was anciently at the White Friars; another at the Flight Bridge; and a third at the Grey Friars, whose conventual chapel is now the grammar-school. The water, which is of excellent quality, comes from a spring on the hill side, about a mile off, in lands formerly belonging to the Black Monks, a small Priory of the Benedictine Order.

E. J. W.

[1] Leland's Itinerary, vol. i. p. 34.

[2] Some sculptured fragments, corresponding with those which decorate the conduit, were dug up on the site of the White Friars Conduit, in the year 1832.

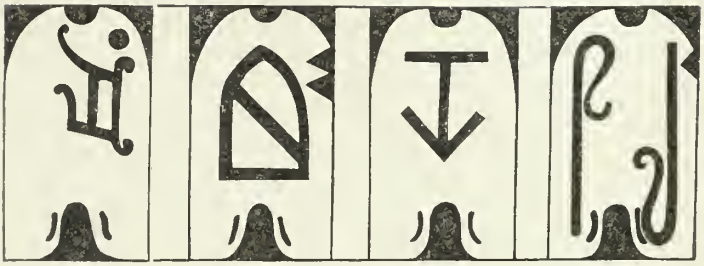
MEMOIR ON THE REGULATIONS ANCIENTLY PRESCRIBED IN REGARD TO SWANS,

ON THE RIVERS OF LINCOLNSHIRE, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, AND OTHER PARTS OF THE REALM;

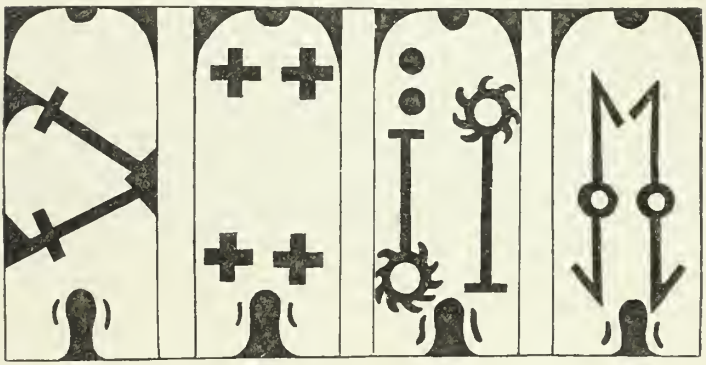
AND ON AN ORIGINAL BOOK OF SWAN-MARKS.

The following document supplies a very curious memorial of laws and usages, anciently found requisite to regulate the possession of swans upon the larger rivers and waters in England, in times when that bird, now produced rarely even in municipal festivities, was more generally esteemed. The original MS. was exhibited by Mr. E. A. Bromehead, in the temporary museum formed at Lincoln during the meeting of the Institute. It had been formerly in the possession of Mr. Jephtha Foster, Proctor at Lincoln, having been found, amongst various old papers, in his office ; and, on his decease, in 1817, it passed into the hands of his successor, the late Mr. John May Bromehead. It is imperfect, but it is both more extensive and, apparently, a more ancient transcript of the Ordinances, first reduced, probably, into order in the reign of Henry VIII., than has hitherto been made public. The accompanying memoir, laid before the meeting of the Institute by Mr. Bromehead, had been prepared by the deceased relative of that gentleman, and originally destined for publication by the Lincolnshire Topographical Society. It comprises both an interesting summary of information regarding this curious subject, and a detailed account of the document, so essentially connected with ancient Lincoln, and the distinguished families of the county, whose names are here found enrolled. It must, therefore, be received with satisfaction, as a valuable contribution to the "Transactions" of the Institute, commemorative of their visit to Lincolnshire. We regret to be unable to give the entire series of swan-marks ; the curious character of these distinctive symbols are already known by

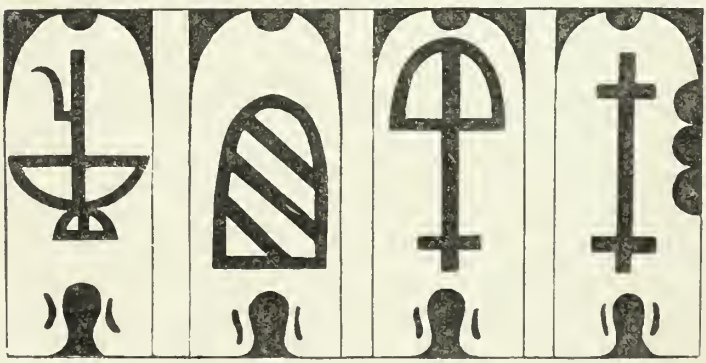
SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT SWAN MARKS, USED IN LINCOLNSHIRE.



Earle Riuiers. Lo. Scroupe. De: of Lincolne. Swinshead Abbey.



Craycroft, Rich. k. Dymock, Edw. k. Damytt, g. Kneuit, Lady.



Steward, Rob't. Tempest, John, k. Tempest, idem. Tarrold, k.

From the Original Book of The Order for Swans

In the possession of Mr. Bromehead, Lincoln.

the plates which accompany the communication from the late Sir Joseph Banks, published in the Archaeologia. The accompanying specimens, carefully copied from the MS. now first made public, will suffice to show the singular nature of these marks, and the ingenious skill with which they were varied.

The marks appropriated to the Crown, and "the Sworde," supposed to be also a royal mark, are here given, of the same size as the originals. The other examples are reduced. It is very singular that, with very few exceptions, these symbols appear to present no analogy with the heraldic charge or badge appropriated to the owner of the swan-mark. The scutcheon with a chevron, the bearing of Stafford (see woodcuts), is, however, an heraldic variety.

Several other rolls or lists of swan-marks are in existence, none, however, as we believe, of as early date as Mr. Bromehead's.[1] In the possession of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., a book of swan-marks on the river Ouse, is preserved, assigned to the times of Queen Elizabeth. In the Parker Collection, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, may be

[1] Amongst the Luttrell Muniments at Dunster Castle, Somerset, is a memorial of the marks by which swans on Glastonbury mere were distinguished, *temp.* Hen. VIII.

seen a fragment of a roll of swan-marks used by Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, in the same reign (1559—1581).

Little has been added, by the researches of later antiquarians, to the following observations by Mr. Bromehead. The earliest evidence of any official appointed by the Crown, as keeper of swans, is found in Pat. 35 Edw. III., in which Thomas de Russham is appointed "supervisor et custos omnium cignorum Regis per totum regnum;" and in Pat. 16 Ric. II., in which Ralph Scot is named by the King "Custos cignorum nostrorum."[2]

In endeavouring to illustrate the ancient ordinances relating to Swans, it has proved impracticable to divest the subject of legal technicalities, since the evidences regarding it are wholly supplied by legal authorities.

Tomlin, in his Law Dictionary (tit. "Swan"), says, "The swan is a noble bird of game, and a person may prescribe to have game of swans within his manor, as well as a warren or a park. A swan is a bird royal; and all white swans not marked, which have gained their natural liberty, and are swimming in an open and common river, may be seized to the use of the King by his prerogative."

So also Lord Coke tells us, that "a swan is a royal fowl, and all those, the property whereof is not known, do belong to the King by his prerogative; and so whales and sturgeon are royal fish, and belong to the King by his prerogative."[3] "And the King may grant wild swans unmarked."[4] Christian, in his Notes to Blackstone, adds, "But these are the only animals which our law has conferred this honour upon."[5] But a subject may have a property in white swans not marked, as any man may have such swans in his private waters, and the property in them belongs to him and not to the King; he cannot, however, have a swan-mark unless possessed of an estate of freehold of the annual value of five

[2] The corporation of the city of Norwich are possessed of an ancient roll of swan-marks, a valuable memorial of ancient usages regarding an ancient delicacy of state festivities, now retained almost exclusively in that city. See Norfolk Archaeology, vol. i. p. 371.

[3] 7 Coke, 16.

[4] Ibid. 18.

[5] Blackstone, vol. ii. p. 419.

marks, or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and should he presume to mark his swans, any other subject, having lands or tenements of that value, may seize such swans as forfeited, one-half to his own use, and the other to the King's, by stat. 22 Edw. IV., c. 6.

If such unmarked swans escape out of their owners' private waters into an open and common river, he may retake them; though it is otherwise if they have retained their natural liberty, and swim in open rivers without pursuit.

Blackstone,[6] speaking of the young of animals, says that the brood of young cygnets belongs equally to the owner of the cock and of the hen (or, as they are technically called, the cob and pen), contrary to the general rule of English law, that, of all tame or domestic animals, the brood belongs to the owner of the dam, or mother.

Stealing swans lawfully marked and pinioned is felony, even though they be at large; so also, even if not marked, if they be kept in a private moat, pond, or river, and reduced to tameness;[7] but if the latter be abroad, and shall attain to their natural liberty, then the property in them is lost, and felony cannot be chargeable by taking them.[8] These latter, however, would belong to the King, as before stated; and the King's officers may seize them to his use by his prerogative. Also, the King may grant them, and, by consequence, another may prescribe to have them within a certain precinct or place.

If a wild swan be taken and marked, and turned loose in a river, the owner's property in him still continues, and it is not lawful for any one else to take him; but it is otherwise if the swan leave the neighbourhood.[9]

A question may arise whether swans can be considered as heir-looms. Blackstone says:[1] "Heir-looms are such goods and personal chattels as, contrary to the nature of chattels, shall go by special custom to the heir, along with the inheritance, and not to the executor of the last proprietor. They are generally such things as cannot be taken away without damaging or dismembering the freehold; otherwise, the

[6] Blackstone, vol. ii. p. 390. [7] Hale's Pleas of the Crown, 68.
[8] Dalt., c. 156. [9] Blackstone, vol. ii. p. 392. [1] Ibid. p. 427.

general rule is, that no chattel interest shall go to the heir, notwithstanding it be expressly limited to a man and his heirs, but shall rest in the executor. But deer in a real authorised park, fishes in a pond, doves in a dove-house, &c., though in themselves personal chattels, yet they are so annexed to and so necessary to the well-being of the inheritance, that they shall accompany the land, wherever it rests, by either descent or purchase."

By a parity of reasoning, therefore, it may be supposed that, if a man can *legally* prescribe to have game of swans within his manor, they would descend to the heir; but, unless he could show such prescription, or a grant to the same effect, they would become the property of the executor.

Swans may be estrays, but not any other fowl; whence they are said to be royal fowl. Estrays are such valuable animals as are found wandering in any manor or lordship, and no man knows the owner of them, in which case the law gives them to the King, and they now most commonly belong to the lord of the manor by special grant from the Crown.[2]

Stealing or destroying the eggs of swans, or even taking them on a man's own ground, or driving them away when breeding or providing to breed, is punishable by imprisonment for a year and a day, and fine at the king's pleasure, by statute 11th Henry VII., chap. 17. And by 1st James I., chap. 27, every person who shall take the eggs of any swan out of the nest, or wilfully spoil them in the nest, and shall be convicted thereof before two justices by confession, or the oath of two witnesses, shall be committed to gaol for three months, unless he pay to the churchwardens, for the use of the poor, 20*s.* for each egg; or, after one month of his commitment, become bound by his recognisances with two sureties in 20*l.* each, not to offend again in like manner. And by 7th James I., chap. 2, one witness is sufficient to ensure a conviction.

It will be seen from the above remarks, and from the accompanying "Order for Swannes," that the laws relating to them were uncommonly severe, and the fines extremely

[2] Blackstone, vol. i. p. 296.

heavy; for it must be borne in mind that money, in the fifteenth century, was worth ten times what it is at present.[3]

These laws appear to be in force even to the present day, but are rarely heard of.

If a person did not compound with the King for his mark (for which he was charged 6*s.* 8*d.*), his swans were to be seized for the King's use. No person (except the heir apparent to the Crown) could possess either swan or swan-mark, unless possessed of freehold to the value of five marks, or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly (now equivalent to nearly 35*l.*), by statute of 22nd Edward IV., chap. 6.

If any weirs were found upon any rivers without grates to them, any owner, swan-master, or swanherd, might destroy them.

Masters of swans appointed regular swanherds, who were to produce their deputations once a year, for the inspection and allowance of the King's swanherd, for which he received the fee of a groat. No person could be swanherd or deputy for more than two masters, nor could an owner of swans be swanherd to another owner, under the penalty of 40*s.*

No person but a swanherd might carry a swanhook,[4] unless accompanied by two swanherds, under the penalty of 13*s.* 4*d.*, half of which went to the informer. No person was allowed to mark his swans earlier than the Monday after Trinity Sunday, nor without the King's swanherd or his deputy were present, under the penalty of 40*s.* for each swan marked.

Hunting for waterfowl with dogs was not allowed from Easter till the Sunday after Trinity Sunday, technically called, Fence-time; nor were nets to be set from Easter till Lammas, under the penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.*

If swans were found with two persons' marks, they were seized till proof was given to which owner they belonged, and, if not proved, they were forfeited to the King.

No person could sell his swans, or deliver them, unless

[3] Henry's History of England, vol. x. p. 271.

[4] The swanhook, attached to a long pole, by means of which the bird might readily be captured by the neck, is frequently introduced as a symbol amongst the varied devices composing the swan-marks in the MS. A similar implement is still used by the Norwich swanherd.

the King's swanherd or deputy were present, under penalty of 40*s.*

No person was allowed to fish with nets from the Invention of the Cross (3rd May), till Lammas, under the penalty of 20*s.*

Any person erasing or altering marks was to be imprisoned for a whole year, and pay 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (equivalent to nearly 35*l.*) to the King.

It appears that at the time of marking or of taking up young swans, the King's swanherd or "Maister of Game," his deputy, and other swanherds present, were allowed their commons, that is, their dinner or supper, at the expense of the owner of the swans taken up or marked; and it is ordained that the cost of this meal should not exceed sixpence, or eightpence at the most, and, if the owner were absent, the Master of the Game was to lay it down for him, and to be allowed it again; but how it was to be recovered, we are not informed.

Any person obtaining a swan mark, either by inheritance or purchase, was to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* for an alienation fee, besides fees for the enrolment thereof. It may be observed in the MS. that many alienations had taken place between the time of its being written, and the years 1609 and 1610, 1614 and 1622, when it appears to have been revised by other hands.

With respect to the date of the MS., it certainly was not written prior to 1541, because the Bishop of Peterboro' (a see which was erected in that year) has several marks mentioned in it. It does not notice an act passed 31st Henry VIII., 1539, which made it felony to take eggs in the King's grounds, but which was repealed 1st Edward VI., 1547, again re-enacted in the seventh year of that reign, and finally repealed 1st May, 1553. Neither does it notice the act of 1st James, chap. 27. Had it been written subsequently to the passing of that act, there would no doubt have been some mention of it in the different laws; the probability therefore is, that it was written about the latter end of the reign of Mary, or the commencement of that of Elizabeth.

The MS. itself is imperfect: the whole of "the order for

Swannes" is preserved, but many pages of marks are wanting, and it appears never to have been completed.

An Index at the end, which is evidently finished, gives a list of 899 names of owners. Fifty pages of marks appear to have been completed, the first six of which contain twelve marks each ; twelve pages are then wanting ; the subsequent pages contain fifteen marks each ; after the twenty-sixth, six are lost ; and from the thirty-third to the fiftieth, both inclusive, the MS. is perfect ; the next page, which is not numbered, has never been completed, the marks having been inserted, but no names affixed to them ; this also, from the colour of the parchment, and the ink, appears more modern than the remainder, and is only written on one side: the sixty-seventh, sixty-eighth, sixty-ninth, and seventieth pages have been ruled and prepared but not used.

The outline traced in each compartment of the page appears to represent the bill of the bird, with the nostrils and "berry," and the black mark at the tip ; the distinctive marks appear to have been impressed upon the bill, most probably by cutting or burning, and then blackening. We sometimes find mention made of a mark upon the leg, the foot, or the heel of the bird, in addition to those on the bill.

Amongst the various names we find the following in Lincolnshire and the neighbourhood :—

Lord Parre, (in 1610, Herbart Pelham's), Lord Hussey, Lord Willoughby, Bishop of Ely, five marks, Bishop of Peterborough, three, Dean of Lincoln (the Bishop does not appear to have had a mark, at least his name does not appear even in the Index), Dean of Ely, Dean of Peterborough, the Chapter of Ely, Trinity College, Cambridge, Tattersall College,[5] Trinities in Walsoken (most probably a guild or company), Vicar of Sutton, Vicar of Pinchbeck, Parson of Toft, Swineshead Abbey, Chatteris Abbey, Sawley Abbey, Thorney Abbey, two marks, Spalding Priory, three marks, Richard Craycroft, Cony, of Yaxley, (in 1609, Lady Hatton's), Cony of Kirton, two marks, Cheney of Fleete, Cray

[5] This is a very simple mark, being only an angular notch on either side of the beak. A note is made of an additional mark, rarely occurring in the list :— "A penny crosse ouer the legge."

of Ely, Sir Edward Dymoke, Kt., two, John Disney, Richard Disney, Edmund Dethicke, two marks, both subsequently the Earl of Warwick's, John Denys, (in 1609, John Welby's), Croyland; John Dethe, (in 1609, Matthew Skipworth's), Sir William Fitzwilliam, two, Irby, three, Kirkham, Kaye, (in 1614, John Stamford's), Thomas Kyme, William Kyme, Mounson, three marks, Nettleham of Ryhall, Pulvertoft, two, Proctor of Frampton, John Smith of Stanground, John Tempest, two, Robert Tempest, Tunnard, two, Adlard, Welby, Thomas Welby, two, Wymbitch of Blankney, two, Sir Gyles Allington, three, William Ashley, of Croyland, two, William Atkyn of Lynn, Bardney Abbey, Barlings Abbey, Bolington Priory, Edmund Buckforth, two, Bromley, Richard Buckworth, John Bonham of Stanground, Lord Clynton (in Sir Joseph Banks' roll called Earl of Lincoln), Clements of Well, Cecil, Earl of Exeter, eight marks, Crumwell, two, Coppledyke, Robert Carre, Lord Delaware, John Darby of Croyland, John Fisher of Croyland and William Fisher of Gedney, Frekingham of Whaplode, Sir Thomas Grantham, three, Henry Goldwell of Wisbech, Haverholme Priory, Hall of Kyme, Robert Jackson of Spalding, Kirkstead Abbey, Kyme Priory, Sir Thomas Lovell, Lambert of Well, two, Thomas Norton of Cotterstocke, Earle Rosse, Lord Tailbois, Tupholme Priory, and Sir George Taylbois.

In January, 1810, Sir Joseph Banks laid before the Society of Antiquaries a similar document, consisting of Ordinances respecting swans on the River Witham, Lincolnshire, and the swanmarks appertaining to the proprietors on the said stream. This roll is thus entitled :—"Swanmoote.—The true copy of a Parchment Roll, touching the Swannery, delivered to me, W. Monson, by Mr. Matthew Nayler, now Officer thereof, under Mr. Secretary, this June, 1570, 12th Elizabeth." This document is given at length in the Archaeologia (vol. xvi., p. 153), with three plates, containing ninety-seven swan-marks, copied exactly from the original roll. Many of the ordinances in this roll, stated to have been made May 24, 15th Hen. VIII. (1523), appear to be extremely similar to those preserved in the MS., the subject of this

memoir, though not exactly verbatim, nor in the same order. So are also many of the marks on the roll, but these seem to be in general reversed, probably by a mistake of the engraver; they do not appear to have been so well executed, in the original, neither is this roll so extensive as that now described, which, by the index, appears to have contained 899 marks, 462 of which are still perfect and completed; whereas Sir Joseph Banks' contains only 97, but these last are, of course, all Lincolnshire persons, or connected with the county. In a note to this last roll, by the Rev. Stephen Weston, will be found observations on the terms "Swan with two necks," and "Swan hopping."

J. M. BROMEHEAD.

THE ORDER FOR SWANNES.

Compounding w^th^ the King for a marke.

First, you shall enquire, if ther be any person, that doth posses any swanne, and hath not compounded w^th^ the Kinges Majesty for his mark: viz: vj^s^. viij^d^. for his marke during his life. If you know any such, you shall p^r^sent them, that all such swannes may be seazed for the King.

Dispending 5 markes a yeere.

Also you shall enquire if any person do posses any swanne or signet, that may not dispend the cleere yeerly value of five markes of freehold (except heire apparant to the Crowne) then you shall p^r^sent him. 22 Ed: 4.

Driving away Swannes providing to breede.

Also if any person do drive away any swan or swannes, breeding, or providing to breed, be it upon his owne ground or any other mannes ground, he or they so offending, shall suffer one yeeres imprisonment, and fine at the Kinges pleasure, xiij^s^. iiij^d^. 11 Hen: 7.

Weres w^th^out grates before them.

It'm if ther be found any weres upon the rivers, not having grates before them, it is lawful for every owner, swanmaister, or swanheard, to pull up, or cut downe y^e^ birdnet or gin of the said were, or weres.

Carrying a swanhooke.

It'm if any person or persons be found carrijng any swanhooke, and the same person being no swanheard, nor accompanied wth two swanheardes: every such person shall pay to the King xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. viz. iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. to him that will informe & the rest to the King.

Land bird.

It'm the antient custome of this realme hath and doth allow to every owner of such ground, where any such swan shall heiry,[1] to take one land byrd, and for the same, the Kings Ma^{ty} must have of him that hath the land bird, xij^{d}.

Stealing egges.

It'm it is ordeined, if any person, or persons do convey away or steale away, the egg, or egges of any swann, and the same duly proved by two sufficient witnesses, that then every such offender, shall pay to the King xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for every egg, so taken out of the nest of any swanne.

The Maisters fee of iiij^{d}. yerly.

It'm it is ordeined: every owner that hath any swannes, shall pay iiij^{d}. yeerly to the maister of the game for his fee, and his dinner, and supper free, on the upping day:[2] And if the maister of the game faile of his iiij^{d}. then he shall distreine the game of every such owner, that doth so faile payment.

Swannes upon sev'all.

It'm if ther be any person, or persons that hath swannes w^{ch} do heire upon their severall waters, and after come to the comon river, they shall' pay a land bird to the king, and be obedient to all swan lawes: for divers such persons do use it for collusion to defraud the king of his right.

Marking day.

It'm it is ordeined: that ev'y person having any swannes, shall begin yeerly to marke, upon Monday next after Trinity sonday, and no person before, but after as the company may, so that the maister of the King's game or his deputy be present. And if any take upon him, or them, to marke any swannes or signet, to forfeit to the king's Ma^{ty} xl^{s} for every swanne.

Marking wthout the deputy.

It'm it is ordeined: that no person, nor persons, being owners or swanheardes, nor other, shall goe on marking, wthout the maister of the game be p^{r}sent, wth other swanherdes next adjoining, upon payne to forfeit to the Kings Ma^{ty} xl^{s}.

[1] See Note A.

[2] See Note B.

Hunting w^th^ dogges.

It'm it is ordeined: that no person shall hunt any duckes, or any other chase, in the water, or neere the haunt of swannes in fence time w^th^ any dogges or spaniellcs, from the feast of Easter, to the sonday next after Trinity sonday, upon payne for every time so hunting to forfeit vj^s^. viij^d^.

Setting for foule.

It'm it is ordeined, that if any person do set any manner of snares or nettes, lime or ingines, to take bittores[3] or swannes from the feast of Easter, to the sonday after Lammas day, he, or they to forfeit to y^e^ Kinges Ma^ie^ for every time so setting vj^s^ viij^d^.

Taking up unmarked cignettes.

It'm it is ordeined that no person take up any Cignet unmarked, nor make any sale of them, but that the kinges swanheard or his deputy be present, w^th^ other swanheardes next adjoining, or have knowledg of the same, upon payne to forfeit to the King xl^s^.

The deputy not to enter into y^e^ duchy, nor the deputy of the duchy into y^e^ gildable.

It'm it is ordeined, that the swanheard of the Duchy of Lancaster shall up no swan, nor make any sale of them, w^th^out the maister of the swannes, or his deputy be p^e^sent, upon payne to forfeit to the King's Ma^tie^ xl^s^. And in like manner the King's swanheard shall not enter into the liberties of the Duchy, w^th^out the Kinges swanheard then be p^e^sent, upon the like paine to forfeit xl^s^.

Swannes double marked.

It'm it is ordeined, that if any swannes or cignettes be found double marked, they shall be seized to the Kinges use, till it be proved to whome the said swannes or cignettes do belong. And if it can not be proved to whome they do belong, that then they to be seized for the King, and his grace to be answered the value of them.

Selling white swannes.

It'm it is ordeined, that no person make any sale of any white swannes, nor make delivery of them, w^th^out the maister of the game or his deputy be present, with other swanheardes next adjoining, upon paine to forfeit xl^s^, whereof vj^s^. viij^d^. to him that will informe, and the residue to the King's Ma^tie^.

Setting for fish in the day time.

It'm it is ordeined, that no person shall lay leapes, set any nettes, nor drag,[4] w^th^in the eommon streames, or rivers, upon the day-time, from the feast of the invention of the erosse, unto the feast of Lammas, upon payne so often as they be found offending to forfeit xx^s^.

[3] Note C.

[4] Note D.

Seazing stray swannes.

It'm it is ordeined, that if the maister of the swannes, or his deputy, do seaze any swannes as strayes, or take them up to the kinges use, that he shall keepe them in a pit wthin xx. foote of the Kinges streame, or wthin xx. foote of the common hyeway, that the Kinges subjectes may have a sight of the swannes so seazed, upon payne of xl^{s}.

Foyling of markes.

It'm it is ordeined, that if any person do rase out, counterfait, or alter the marke of any swan, to the hindering or loss of any mannes game, and any such offender duly prooved before the kinges Ma^{ties} commissioners for swannes, shall suffer one whole yeares imprisonment, and pay iij^{li} vj^{d} & viij^{d} to y^{e} King.

Dinners and suppers.

It'm it is ordeined, that the commons, that is to say, the dinner or supper, shall not exceede above vj^{d} or viij^{d} at the most; and if any game be found on that river wher such dinuer and supper is had, and the owner of the same game absent, nor any for him: the maister of the game or his deputy, to lay vj ^{l}, or viij^{d} for every such owner and to be allowed againe of every game whose owner is absent.

Swannes only forfeited to the King.

It'm it is ordeined, that ther shalbe no forfeiture of any white swanue or cignettes, but only to the King, as well wthin the franchises and liberties as wthout: And if any do deliver any swan or cignet to any person so seased, but only to the maister of the Kinges game or to his deputy, to the Kinges use, he to forfeit vj^{s} viij^{d} and the swanes to be restored to the maister of the game.

Taking flijng swannes.

It'm it is ordeined, that no person shall take any gray swañet or cignettes, or white swannes flijng, but that he shall w^{tl} in iiij dayes next after, deliver it or them to the Maister of the Kinges game or his deputy, and the taker to have for his paines in taking the said swan viij^{d}.

Noman having game of his owne to be swanheard for another.

It'm it is ordeined, that no man having game of his owne, shalbe swanheard for himself, nor keeper of any other mannes swaunes upon payne to forfeit to the Kinges Majesty xl^{s}.

Suing one another.

It'm it is ordeined that no swauheard, fisher, nor fowler shall vexe any other swanheard, fisher, or fowler, by way of action, but only before the Kinges justices of sessions for swannes, upon paine of forfeiting to the Kinges Ma^{tie} xl^{s}.

Parting the brood.

It'm the Maister of the Kinges game, shall not take away any vnmarked swan, coupled with another mans swan, for breaking the brood, and when they do heire, the one part of the cignettes to the King and the other to the owner of the marked swan.

One swan leading y^e^ broode.

It'm it is ordeined, that if any heire be led w^th^ oue swan, the swan and the cignettes shalbe seazed to the King, till due proof be had whos they are, and whos was the swan that is away, be it cobb, or penne.[5]

Taking Vnm'ked Swannes.

It'm that no person shall take up any unmarked swannes or cignettes except he be requested therunto by a sufficient company in the feild upon the marking dayes, nor do carry them to the deputy, or other persons, except he tooke them flijng.

Deputies for two owners.

It'm that no man shall serve as deputy for above ij masters being owners, and that every such deputy before he shall do any service therein, do shew to his Majesties swanheard or his deputy, and the company assembled, his deputation, and do pay yearly iiij^d^. for the allowance therof. And that no owner be deputy for an other owner.

Parting company.

It'm that no person in upping time shall depart from the company to marke any other broode, w^thout^ license of the deputy: nor put out the old swannes before the whole brood be marked, neither put out the old swannes before he have pulled them in the heades.

Setting hingles.

It'm that no person shall set any hingles, suares or engines for foule, from Shrovetide to S^t^ Lukes day.

Selling swannes.

It'm that no deputy shall sell any swannes, or cignettes, except the same be his maisters.

Alienation.

It'm if any person by inheritance from their auncesters, after the death of their predecessors, by sale, or exchaunge have obteined any swanmarke, and hath any game of the same, he shall pay vj^s^ viij^d^ for his alienacon, and the due fees for the enrolment therof.

[5] Note E.

NOTES.

A. To heiry, or heire, appears in its first sense to signify "to make a nest and lay eggs," but here also, "to brood," "to have young," as we read afterwards in the clause for parting the brood,—"when they do heire," one part to be the King's, &c. The noun "heire" (here also found) seems to be the same as usually written aery, aiery, or more correctly eyrey, from the obsolete word *ey* an egg, plur. *eyree* or *eyren*; it is used by Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and other writers; but it usually denotes the nest of an eagle or hawk, and sometimes the young brood. See Nares.

B. "Upping day," the taking up of cignets for the purpose of marking them, as explained by Mr. Weston in his observation on the civic "swan-hopping," evidently the same word with a metropolitan aspirate. Archæol., vol. xvi., p. 163. In a subsequent clause it is enacted, that the swan-herd of the Duchy of Lancaster "shall up no swan," &c., by himself, explained in the "Ordinances" in the Archæologia, "shall take up."

C. "Any engines, or any manner of snares, to take bitters or swans." Ordinances printed in the Archæologia, vol. xvi., p. 161. The bittern was a delicacy in request for the table in former times. See "diett for the King's Majesty," Ordinances of Eltham, 17 Hen. VIII., in Household Ordinances, published by the Society of Antiquaries, p. 174; Abp. Neville's Inthronization Feast, in Warner's Antiq. Culin., p. 98, &c.

D. "Nets, called drayes, nor draw with no net." Archæol., vol. xvi., p. 162.

E. In the Roll touching the Swannery, 1570, the only distinctive terms then used are,—"the sire and dam." Archæologia, vol. xvi., p. 156. The terms used in this document seem not to have been hitherto noticed by Glossarists. Cob is a word apparently employed in old language as expressive of large dimension, *e. g.* a cob-nut, and it signifies in the Cheshire dialect a leader or chief. (Wilbraham's Cheshire dialect.) Ben Jonson, however, speaks of a "cob-swan," (ed. Gifford, vol. iv., p. 236), which has been explained to be merely a bird of large size.

There exists a rare Tract, printed in 1632, which does not appear to have come under the notice of the author of the foregoing Memoir. It is entitled, "The Orders and Lawes and Ancient Customes of Swanns, by John Witherings, Esq., Master of the Royal Game of Swans, 1632."

In addition to the curious documents relating to swan-marks already enumerated, we are enabled to notice the Book of Marks in the possession of the Rev. William Cooper, Rector of West Rasen, Lincolnshire, which he has had the kindness to communicate for examination. It comprises about 300 *cigninotæ;* the dates, 1607, 1608, 1610, and 1612, occur in its pages. It relates chiefly to the meres and rivers near Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire. Two other books of marks, formerly in the library at Strawberry Hill,—one containing 310 marks, the other 80,—are now in the possession of the Earl of Derby. In Feb. 1847, a parchment roll, of the date of 1629, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by George Bowyer, Esq., F.S.A., entitled "The Standard of all Gamesters of the Game of Swans, uppon the River Colney." (Minutes, vol. i., p. 173.)

TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENTS

PRESERVED IN THE CHAPTER MUNIMENT ROOM, IN LINCOLN MINSTER.

THE WILL AND INVENTORIES OF THE EFFECTS OF RICHARD DE RAVENSER, ARCHDEACON OF LINCOLN, 1386.

COMMUNICATED AT THE MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE
BY THE REV. RICHARD PRETYMAN, M.A.,
Precentor of Lincoln.

It has been regretted by some who take interest in the transactions of the Institute, that various documentary treasures, preserved amongst the ecclesiastical or municipal records of cities successively visited by the Society, should not be rendered more extensively available. In one important feature, indeed, of the annual assemblies, hitherto held only in cathedral towns, the value of those stores of information, too long overlooked in remote local depositories, has been repeatedly shown with most advantageous effect by Professor Willis, in his admirable Architectural Histories of the several Cathedrals. It were to be desired, that the example of his zealous industry might stimulate other members of the Institute, to draw from those exhaustless sources of historical and antiquarian knowledge; and to demonstrate how much therein remains to be learned, not merely of topographical detail, but vestiges of the progress of national institutions, of manners and customs, and of the spirit and life of times long past.

With a conviction, how desirable it is that attention should be called to a more detailed investigation of the local records, to which at these yearly meetings of the Institute facilities of access are most liberally afforded, I have gladly availed myself of the kindness of the Precentor of Lincoln, to bring before the Society the following curious documents.

A. W.

THE WILL OF RICHARD DE RAVENSER, ARCHDEACON OF LINCOLN,

WITH INVENTORIES OF HIS EFFECTS TAKEN IN 1386.

FROM THE ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTS PRESERVED AMONGST THE CHAPTER MUNIMENTS AT LINCOLN.

In dei nomine, Amen. Ego, Ricardus de Ravenser, clericus, die luue, quinto decimo die Maii, auuo domini millesimo, ccc^{mo}. octuagesimo quinto, condo testamentum meum iu huuc modum. In primis, lego auimam meam deo et beate Marie, et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in partibus quibus me mori contigerit. Videlicet, si apud Ebor', tunc volo quod corpus meum sepeliatur in ecclesia Collegiata beati Johannis Beverlac', videlicet, ante ostium chori ejusdem ecclesie; et, si in comitatu Lincoln', tunc sepeliatur iu ecclesia Cathedrali sancte Marie virgiuis, apud Liucolu'; [1] et, si apud London', tuuc sepeliatur in ecclesia Westm', subtus tumbam domine Philippe, nuper Regiue Angl'. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie beati Johauuis Beverlac', si corpus meum ibidem sepeliatur, xx. li. et, si alibi, x. li. Item, lego pro exequiis meis faciendis, die sepulture mee, et pro distribucione pauperibus facieuda, secuudum disposicionem executorum meorum, videlicet, in quinque cereis, quorum quilibet sit vj. lib. cere, xij. torches, et pro pauperibus homiuibus vestit' de panno russeto, quorum quilibet percipiet ij. denar' pro dictis torcheis tenendis; et quod dicti quinque cerei ardeant uuus post alium juxta tumbam sancti Johanuis Beverlac', quousque duraverint, si contigerit me sepelire ibidem; et sex torchei remaneant in ecclesia ubi corpus meum fuerit tumulatum; et quod reliqui dantur ecclesiis parochialibus, secuudum disposicionem executorum meorum. Item, lego domiuo Johanni Raveuser unam peciam argent', cum cooperculo, vocatam Bolle: xij. discos argeut' de melioribus et xij. salsar', unum aquarium, unam pelvem argent' de minoribus novis, et lectum meum viridem, cum garbis et aquilis broudat', cum tapet'is eidem pertinentibus, et vj. pecias planas de Paris argent', et unum vestimentum radiatum. Item, lego Heurico fratri meo uuam peciam platt' cum cooperculo, et unum lectum de rubeo worstede cum corvo, et xx.li., quas solvi pro eo Thome de Ettone; et remitto illi illas xx.li. quas sibi prestiti per manus domini Johannis de Cotyngham. Item, lego Katerine uxori ejus unam robam de liberatione Episcopi Liucoln', cum cloca furrata, existente apud Strettone, et xl s. Item, lego Willelmo de Ettone unam peciam cum cooperculo argeut' de novo fact'; et Margarete uxori ejus uuam robam de liberacione domini Regis, et xx.li. de illis xl.li. quas idem Willelmus michi debet, per literam suam obligatoriam. Item, lego domino Johauui Waltham clerico unum vestimentum album existens apud Strettone, unum lectum de serico

[1] The Archdeacon was there interred. Browne Willis gives his Epitaph, Survey, p. 101, and mentions his name in the enumeration of Founders of Chantries in Lincoln Cathedral, p. 34.

maskild' de rubeo et glauco, existentem apud London', et unum portiforium[2] notatum quod emi de executoribus Magistri Johannis de Branktre[3], unum aquarium, et unam pelvem argent' de minoribus. Item, lego cuilibet moniali de ordine de Sempyngham[4] in Comitatibus Lincoln' et Ebor', ij. s. Item, cuilibet recluso vel anacorite in Comitatibus predictis ij. s., exceptis Johanne recluso de Gysburne, cui lego c. s , et Johanne recluso apud sanctum Egidium, Ebor', cui lego xx. s. Item, lego magistro Roberto de Westone, nuper Officiali meo, unam peciam argent' cum cooperculo. Item, lego domino Henrico Officiali meo unam peciam argent' cum pede mobili, cum cooperculo. Item, lego domino Waltero de Gretham unam peciam argent' cum pede mobili. Item, lego domino Johanni Popultone x. marcas argent', et unam peciam argent' cum pede mobili. Item, lego Willelmo de Hotone unam peciam cum cooperculo. Item, Johanne uxori ejus unam robam de liberacione domini Episcopi Lincoln', cum cloca furr'. Item, lego domino Johanni Hermesthorpe unum ciphum deauratum, ad modum calicis, existentem apud London', et vestimentum meum album, cum portitale,[5] cum calice et toto apparatu, simul cum parvis coffris. Item, domino Johanni de Wythornwyk'[6] illum ciphum argent' quem emi de executoribus Jacobi de Raygate. Item, domino Thome de Ettone parvum missale meum album, quod ipsemet scripsit. Item, lego domine Eustachie de Ravenser Priorisse de Stikeswolde xx. li., et cuilibet moniali dicte domus iij.s. iiij.d., percipiend' de illis denariis in quibus michi tenentur per scriptum suum obligatorium communi sigillo suo consignatum. Item, lego Willelmo de Holme vestimentum meum palliatum de syndone de nigro et rubeo, et remitto eidem Willelmo xx. marcas, pro maritagio filie sue, de illis c. marcis, quas michi debet; et lego Johanne uxori sue unam peciam argent' planam cum cooperculo. Item, lego magistro Ricardo de Holme[7] unum librum sextum decratalium,[8] quem Magister Johannes de Carletone habet apud Lincoln'; unum librum vocatum, Hostiensis, et unum librum vocatum, Rosar', et xx. li. de illis c. marcis, quas predictus Willelmus frater suus michi debet. Item, lego Thome Percy x. li. de predictis c. marc', ultra illos denarios, quos recepi de legacione patris sui per manus Roberti de Beverlac', et quos solvi Stephano fratri suo. Item, lego Jacobo Hotone c. s. de predictis c. marc', et armatur' pro uno homine. Item, lego eidem Willelmo de Holme residuum dictarum c. marcarum, ad maritandam unam de filiabus suis. Item, lego Thome Shirbure x. marcas, et armatur' pro uno

[2] There is a character, or mark, before the word *notatum*, in the MS., the import of which is not ascertained. It resembles, but not precisely, a minuscule .C. in small court hand.

[3] Probably Braintree, Essex. Thus written in an extract from Cott. MS., Jul., c. vi. in Dart's Canterb. App., p. xxxi. "Branketre, villa Eastsexæ."

[4] *Sic.* There were several monasteries of the order of St. Gilbert, of Sempringham, in these counties, as Bolington, Alvingham, Stixwould, &c , in Lincolnshire, Watton and Malton, in Yorkshire.

[5] *Sic.* Described in the Inventory, under *Capella*, as "vestimentum album portatile cum calice," &c. It is not clear whether the term designates a portable altar (superaltare occurring in the context), or a complete suit of vestments and appliances for the service of the altar, adapted for use in his visitations or journies.

[6] Wythornwykes?

[7] Richard Holme was Rector of Wermouth, Durham, and succeeded John Ravenser in the Prebend of Holme Episcopi, in the church of York, 1393. He died 1424. Browne Willis, York, p. 141.

[8] *Sic.* Sextus liber decretal', in the Inventory.

homine. Item, lego Johanni de Routhe c. s. et armatur' pro uno homine. Item, lego Willelmo de Rysome firmam de Botheby, quam emi de domino Rege, usque ad legitimam etatem uxoris sue, solvend' firmam Regi.[9] Item, lego Willelmo coco meo xl. s. Item, lego Willelmo Baker valetto meo c. s. et unam robam linatam, de liberacione Cancellar', pro uxore sua. Item, lego Nicholao Dunkane xl. s. Item, Ricardo Hayne xl. s. Item, Janino garc' coquine xl. s.[1] Item, Willelmo Moises xl. s. Item, domino Ricardo de Elyngtone, capellano meo, unam robam linatam de liberacione Cancellar', et c. s. Item, lego domino Thome Capellano paroch' in capella sancti Martini Beverl', ut oret pro anima mea, v. marcas. Item, lego domine Is' de Fryskeneye illum librum de Apocalips' quem habet in prestito. Item, lego magistro Waltero de Skirlawe[2] unam tabulam argent' deaurat' et aymallat' pro pace danda, et illum librum de Cronicis quem habet de prestito. Item, lego Willelmo Mountayne zonam meam de serico, qua utor cum curtis vestibus, et vestimentum bluet' de tartar'. Item, lego hospitali sancti Leonardi Ebor' lectum meum rubeum, cum tapetis, cum corvis,[3] et aulam de blueto poudr' cum stellis, existent' apud Ebor'. Item, lego cuilibet pauperi eorumdem existent' in infirmar' iij s. iiij d. Item, cuilibet choriste ejusdem hospitalis iij s. iiij d., percipiend' de illa summa que michi debetur per dictum hospitale. Item, lego cuilibet Fratri dicti hospitalis xiij. s iiij. d., et Matildi la huswyf xiij. s, iiij. d., et cuilibet alii sorori dicti hospitalis vj s. viij. d., percipiend' ut supra. Item, lego Priorisse de Staynfelde xx. s., et cuilibet moniali ibidem ij. s. vj. d., percipiend' de illis xiiij. li. quas michi debent, ut orent pro animabus domini Edwardi, nuper Regis. et Philippe et Isabelle quondam Reginarum Anglie, et mei. Item, lego Priorisse de Goukewelle[4] vj. s. viij. d., et cuilibet moniali ibidem ij. s. ut orent, ut predictum est. Item, lego Priorisse de Grymesby xl. s., et cuilibet moniali ejusdem domus ij s., ut orent pro animabus predictis. Item, lego utrique ordini Fratrum apud Grymesby, videlicet, cuilibet fratri capellano ij. s., et alii fratri non capellano xij. d., ut orent pro animabus predictis. Item, lego utrique ordinum Fratrum minorum et predicatorum Lincoln', videlicet, cuilibet fratri capellano ij. s., et alii fratri non capellano xij. d., et utrique ordinum Augustin' et Carmelit', videlicet, cuilibet fratri capellano ij. s , et alii fratri non capellano xij. d. Item, lego Fratribus Ebor', videlicet, minoribus et predicatoribus, Carmelit' et August', cuilibet fratri capellano, ij. s. et alii fratri non capellano xij. d. Item, lego Priorisse sancti Clementis Ebor' iij s.

[9] The sense is obscure. It seems to be: until the lawful age of his wife, paying rent to the King, who, probably, was only entitled to the rent for a certain period, and had granted it to the testator.

[1] Garcio, either a page of the kitchen, as described in Household Ordinances, 33 Hen. VI., or one of the menials termed "children of the keehyn, tourne broaches." Ibid.

[2] Walter de Skirlaw was Treasurer of the Church of Lincoln, 1381; he was also Archdeacon of Northampton, and raised to the see of Lichfield, 1385; in the year following, he was translated to Wells, and finally to Durham, 1388. He died in 1406. His works were of an important character at Durham and other places; his liberality also contributed largely to the erection of the lanthorn tower at York.

[3] Possibly for ravens, a canting device, allusive to the name of Ravenser. In the Inventory, subsequently, occurs an ouche of gold "cum uno corvo in medio," &c.

[4] Gokwell Priory, founded by William de Alta Ripa, at Broughton, Lincolnshire. Tanner calls it Goykewell.

iiij. d. Item, lego Katerine moniali de Noncotom xx. s. Item, cuilibet anacorite infra Ebor' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, lepros' apud Ebor' vj. s. viij. d. Item, lego Fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus Beverl', videlicet, cuilibet fratri capellano ij. s. et fratri non capellano xij. d. Item, lego Fratribus predicatoribus Carmelit' et Augustin' Loudon', videlicet, cuilibet fratri capellano ij. s., et fratri non capellano xij. d. Item, cuilibet ordini Fratrum apud sanctum Both'm,[5] videlicet, cuilibet fratri capellano ij. s., et fratri non capellano xij. d. Item, lego Isabelle nuper uxori Petri Ughtrede, nepti mee, unam peciam planam cum cooperculo, et unum lectum viridem cum rosis, quem emi de executoribus testamenti Jacobi de Raygate. Item, lego xx. li. ad distribuendum inter parochianos meos de Knaresburghe, magis indigentes, per executores meos. Item, lego xx. li. ad distribuendum inter parochianos meos de Empyngham' magis indigentes. Item, lego Ricardo de Gartone clerico x. li. Item, lego domino Johanni de Roderham unam peciam argent'. Item, lego Johanni de sancto Martino xl. s., et armatur' pro uno homine, ac j. Jack'. Item, lego ministrantibus presens testamentum meum, nomine regardi, xl. li. Item, volo quod illa mesuagia que perquisivi de Willelmo de Strette, et que fuerunt Johannis de Mideltone, in Kyngestone super Hulle, vendantur ad perficiendam voluntatem meam alibi in operibus caritativis, secundum disposicionem executorum meorum. Item, volo quod manerium de Stapilforde vendatur ad perficiend' et auxiliand' pro uno capellano de vicar' Lincoln' celebraturo ad sanctum Egidium extra Lincoln', cum tenementis que fuerunt Johannis Totille in eadem, in quibus dominus Johannes de Waltham et dominus Johannes de Ravenser sunt feoffati, pro anima mea, fratris mei, patris et matris et omnium benefactorum meorum. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum, non legatorum, lego domino Johanni de Ravenser et domino Johanni de Popiltone, ad distribuend' et faciend' pro anima mea, et pro animabus domini Edwardi nuper Regis, et Philippe et Isabelle quondam Reginarum Anglie, et animabus omnium benefactorum meorum, et ad perficiend' cantar' predictam unius vicar', capientis per annum vj. marcas, apud sanctum Egidium extra Lincoln'. Prius tamen solutis debitis meis et legatis. Dominos Johannem de Waltham supervisorem, et dominum Johannem de Ravenser, si vivat, principalem, Johannem de Popiltone et Magistrum Ricardum Holme facio, ordino et constituo executores meos, ut disponant pro anima mea et animabus supradictis, prout eis melius videtur expedire. In cujus rei testimonium presens testamentum meum ultimam voluntatem continens feci pateus et clausum sigillo meo signari.[6]

In dei nomine, Amen; ego, Ricardus Ravenser, Archidiaconus Lincoln', facio hunc codicillum dependentem ex testamento meo, et volo quod omnia legata in dicto testamento meo alicui persone mortue sint vacua et adnullata, quia illa revoco per presentes. Item, lego Isabelle de sancto Martino moniali de Swyne consanguinee mee xx. s. argent'. Item, eidem Isabelle alios xx. s. Item, filio Isabelle Bryan xl. s. Item, lego Willelmo Rysom x. marcas, et remitto sibi omne illud quod

[5] Botolphum? Is St. Botulph's, in Lincolnshire, in the district of Holland, intended?

[6] Here follows, by an error of the transcriber, the first sentence of the notification by the Bishop of Lincoln, of exhibition of the will and codicil.

michi debet pro firma de Botheby. Item, lego Willelmo de Holmetone fratri Johannis de Holmetone quinque marcas. Item, constituo executores testamenti et hujus voluntatis mee Johannem de Ravenser clericum, Johannem de Popiltone clericum, et Ricardum de Holme, in testamento meo nominatos. Ac eciam Philippum Tylney, ch'r, et Willelmum de Holme executores meos et coadjutores, per supervisum Johannis de Waltham clerici, ut ibidem continetur. Item, lego Katerine uxori Roberti de Grymesby x. marcas, ita quod denarii illi mittantur in usus ipsius Katerine, per disposicionem executorum meorum, et quod non veniant in manibus neque potestate dicti mariti sui. Item, remitto conventui de Stikeswolde xx. marcas de una summa michi per eas per scriptum suum obligatorium debita. Item, lego Willelmo Barbur, camerario meo, xx. marcas. Item, Margerie Pype, moniali de Stykeswolde xl. s.

Dat' apud Strettone, decimo septimo mensis Maii, anno domini millesimo, ccc^{mo} octogesimo sexto.

Item, lego fratri Johanni de Mideltone, sacre pagine professori, de ordine beate Marie de Monte Carmeli, c. s. Item, eidem, si predicaverit in die sepulture mee ibidem, xl. s. Item, volo quod si Johannes Ravenser velit emere aliqua bona mea, et tantum pro eis dare quantum alii rationabiliter optulerunt, quod ipse ea habeat pro rationabili precio, inter ipsum et alios executores meos assidendo.

[Here follows the certificate by John (Bokingham) Bishop of Lincoln, of the Probate of the Will, and a codicil annexed: this document being dated at his manor of "Netalham," June 1, 1386, and in the 23rd year of his consecration.

Certificate of Probate by the sub-dean and chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, the Dean being absent; dated June 9, 1386.

To these succeed the following Codicil:]

In dei nomine. Amen. Ego, Ricardus de Ravenser, Archidiaconus Lincoln', do, lego et concedo omnia tenementa mea cum pertinenciis in Civitate Lincoln' et suburbiis ejusdem, et in villa de Kyngeston super Hulle, Johanni de Ravenser clerico, Johanni de Popiltone clerico, Philippo Tilney militi, et Willelmo Holme, executoribus meis, habend' et tenend' predictis Johanni, Ricardo, Philippo et Willelmo, heredibus, et eorum assignatis, omnia tenementa mea predicta. Et volo quod omnia tenementa mea predicta vendantur et distribuantur pro anima mea, per avisamentum et ordinacionem executorum meorum predictorum. Salva ordinacione mea et voluntate in priori testamento meo de predictis tenementis expressa. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum presentibus apposui. Hiis testibus, Willelm ode Rysom, Johanne de Seynt Martyn, Simone Wynter et aliis, ut hoc testamentum meum et ultima voluntas mea omnibus innotescat. Datum apud magnam Strettone, die veneris proxima ante festum sancti Augustini, Anglorum apostoli, anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi nono.[7]

[After which is a transcript of an indorsement, being the certificate of John, Bishop of Lincoln, relative to the said codicil. Dated at "Nettilham," June 1, 1386.

[7] A.D. 1386, the Festival of St. Augustine being May 26.

Certificate of Probate by William (Courtenay) Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 30th June, 1386, in the Chapel of his Manor of "Otteforde."

To these succeed the following Inventories of the effects of the Archdeacon, taken at his residences, in London, and at Stretton in Lindsey, a manor which he had acquired from Gilbert Umfraville; also of his rich plate, vestments and wardrobe, in the custody of Walter de Windsor, at the time of his decease.]

Inventarium omnium bonorum nuper domini Ricardi de Ravenser, Archidiaconi Lincoln', factum apud London'.

Camera.

In primis, j. lectum de rubeo worstede, videlicet, coverlit, tester cum dim' selour, ij. tapet', iij. ridelles, ij. costers, vj. quissyns de eodem panno pro dicto lecto, prec' lx. s. Item, j. lectum de blod' worstede, videlicet, coverlit, tester, cum dim' selour, ij. tapet'is, iij. ridelles, iiij. costers, j. banquer, et vj. quissynes de eodem panno, prec' xl. s. Item, j. coverlit cum j. tapet' de viridi cum leopardis in glauco impressis, prec' viij. s. Item, j, coverlit cum j. tapet' de blod' de Northefolke, cum foliis vitium et rosis de glauco intextis, prec' iiij. s. Item, vj. blankett', quarum j. par melius, ad ij. s. iiij. d j. par medium, ad ij. s. et j. par pejus, ad xx. d. Summa vj. s. Item, j. matrays magna, utraque parte de blod' card', prec' iiij. s. Item, j. matrays nova, exteriori parte de blod' card', et inferiori parte de canavas', prec' viij. s. Item, j. matrays usitata, utraque parte quondam de rubeo bukrame, prec' ij. s. Item, ij. matrays debiles, quarum altera de blod' card' nullius valoris; et altera de viridi card' in exteriori parte, prec' xij. d. Item, ij. paria linthiaminum nova de panno de lake, prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, v. linthiamina de panno de Reynes, quorum j. par majus, ad xiij. s. iiij. d. j. par minus, ad x. s. et j. linthiamen pro capite, ad vj. s. Summa xxix. s. iiij. d. Item, v. paria linthiaminum debilia, prec' v. s. Item. j. covertour pro lecto de blod' furr' cum menevoir, prec' x. s. Item, j. covertour de rubeo, furr' cum grys, prec' xx. s. Item, j. covertour de rubeo, furr' cum cuniculis griseis, prec' iiij. s. Item, vj. quyssynes de tapester' cum corvis, prec' ij. s. Item, j. bankquer de tapester' plan' rub', prec' xij. d. Item, ij. bankquers de blod' worstede usitat' prec' iiij. d. Item, j. bankquer de eodem panno bon', prec' viij. d. Item, j. bankquer de tapestre cum arboribus et avibus intextis, prec' vj. d. Item, ij. pillues de rubeo sindone, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, vj. pelves metall' rotund'e et cave, prec' (*blank*). Item, ij. fustians pro j. lecto, prec' v. s. Item, j. pillue alba et longa, browler' cum diversis literis, prec' xx. d. Item, iiij pillues curte albe, quarum ij. dantur emptori furr' ex convencione, et ij. remanent, prec' xij. d. Item, j. chaufeour metalli, prec' ij. s. Item, iij. paria de aundirnes ferr', prec' (*blank*). Item, j. furgon'[8] ferr', prec' (*blank*). Item, j. shovell' ferr', prec' (*blank*). Item, j. cista magna rubea ferro ligata, prec' x. s. Item, j. cista debilis ferro ligata, nichil, quia datur ecclesie paroch' de (*blank*) ad instanc' domini Michaelis de Ravendale, pro libris et vestimentis imponendis, intuitu

[8] The reading *in extenso* may be Furgoun, or, perhaps, furgone (furgoñ). The final contraction, usually denoting a mute *e*, may also indicate a Latin termination in this and other words. "Furgone or fyre forke, Rotabulum, Arpagio." Prompt. Parv., p. 183.

caritat', nichil. Item, iij. coffr' magni, quorum ij. majores, prec' vj. s. et. j. minus, prec' xij. d. Summa vij. s. Item, ij. coffr' parvi, prec' ij. s. Item. j. cathedra. Item, j. candelabrum ferr'. Item, j. longum sedile, prec' v. s. Item, j. tabula curta, cum ij. tristellis, prec' ij. s. Item, j. tabula mensalis de firre, cum ij. tristellis, prec' xvj. d. Item, j. scaccarium cum scaccis, prec' (*blank*). Item, (*blank*).

Garderoba.

Item, j. mautell' fresede rub' liniat' cum blanket, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. mantell' nov' fresede de violet, prec' viij. s. Item, j. mantell' nov' de rubeo fresede, prec' vij. s. Item, j. mantell' de russet', prec' v. s. Item, iij. mantell' rub' valde debiles, prec' v. s. Item, j. mantell' nigr' nullius valoris. Item, j. roba de liberacione[9] domini Regis, ad Nat' domini, anno ix°. videlicet, surcot, surcotov't,[1] tabarde et capucium furr', cum kirtill' de rub' medle, prec'[2] . . . Item, j. roba de violet mixt', de liberacione Regis, videlicet, surcot, surcotov't, tabarde et capucium furr' cum kirtille, anno viij°. prec' . . . Item, j. surcot, tabarde et capucium furr' cum surcotov't et kirtille single de rub' mixt', de liberacione Regis anno vij°. prec' . . . Item, j. cloc' cum surcot et capucio furr' ac j. kirtille de sanguyn mixt', de liberacione Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, anno x°. prec' . . . Item, j. cloc' surcot et capucium furrat' cum kirtille de viridi mixt', de liberac' ejusdem, prec' . . . Item, j. cloc' surcot et capucium de nigr' furr', cum j. kirtille, prec' . . . Item, j. goune de blod' furr' cum menevoir, cum ij. capuciis de blod', quorum j. dupl'. Item, j. surcot de blod' furr'. Item, j. corset de blanket furr' cum croupes. Item, j. cloc', surcot et kirtille, cum capucio, de liberacione domine Regine, non consut', prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. surcot, surcotov't et tabarde cum capucio liniat' cum viridi tartryn, cum j. kirtille de morrey mixto, de lib' estivali Regis, anno viij°, prec' xx. s. dantur Rectori ecclesie paroch' sancte Brigide. Item, j. surcot tabarde de blod' mixto, cum capucio liuat' cum viridi tartryn, et j. surcotov't et kirtille single de blod' mixto, de liberacione estivali Regis, anno vij°., prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. surcot de rub' mixto liniat' cum viridi tafita, prec' vj. s. legatur uxori Willelmi Baker. Item, j. cloc', j. surcot cum capucio absque furr', et kirtille de sanguyn, prec' x. s. Item, j. goune liniat' cum blanket, cum capucio liniato cum nigr' de russet' fresede, prec' vj. s. viij. d., dantur Johanni de Lethom Ebor' pro anima domini. Item, j. goune single, cum capucio duplo de nigr', prec' ij. s. Item, j. kirtille de russeto liniat' cum blanket, prec' xvj. d., datur Stephano garcioni Willelmi de Rysome, intuitu caritatis. Item, j. corset de blanket double, prec' vj. d. Item, j. corset de blanket single, prec' iiij. d. Item, xij. capucia dupla et j. capucium single, prec' v. s. Item, ix. virge dim. de burnet, prec' virge ij. s.—xix. s. Item. j. robe non consuta, de liberacione domine Regine. Item, j. furr' de calabre rub' venditur superius cum dictis furr', infra summam xxiij. li. Item, ij. canavas' magne pro lectis, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. canavas' continens ij. ulnas, iij. quart', prec' viij. d. Item, iiij. pecie de blod' card',

Vendita Thome Dilkes pro xxiij. li.

[9] *Query*, liberat' ? In the will occurs "de liberacõe dñi epi Lincoln."

[1] Surcotou't, MS.; *query* surcot overt? [2] The value of this and following items is not stated.

valde debiles, prec' ij. s. Item, ij. remanentes panni stragulati, prec' ij. s. Item, j. remanens de blanket, j. remanens de rub' mixto, cum capucio non consuto, prec' ij. s. Item, ij. furr' de bys. Item, v. furr' de menevoir, quarum j. pro cloc' et j. pro j. goune, vend' superius cum predictis furr', infra summam predictarum xxiij. li. Item, iiij. virge de sarsnet[3] rub'. Item, ij. virge de vellvet rubeo. Item, ij. flaneol[4] de panno de Reyns. Item, linure de rub' taffita pro ij. surcot' et ij. capuc'. Item, j. virga de nigro bukram. Item, j. linura de nigro bukram. Item, j. Jak' de nigro vellvet defensabilis, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, ij. manice de blod' camaca. Item, furr' pro ij. manicis. Item, j. aquila brouderizata. Item, iij. virge j. quarter' de russeto albo, prec' virge ij. s. vj. d.—viij. s. j. d. ob. Item, iij. virge de rubeo mixto, prec' virge xvj. d.—iiij. s. Item, j. virga de viridi mixto, prec' xij. d. Item, xvij. ulne iij. quarter' panni linei de Flandr', prec' ulne x. d. summa xiiij. s. x. d. Item, iiij. paria de trencheours.[5] Item, ij. speres.[6] Item, j. cista. Item, (*blank*) borde pro pressur'. Item, j. screne de virgis magn'. Item, iij. paria tristell'.

Capella.

Item, j. coffr' ferro ligat'. Item, j. portiforium novum non notatum. Item, j. portiforium novum notatum, prec' x. li. Item, j. missale magnum, prec' xiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. ordinale, prec' xxvj. s viij. d. Item, j. vestimentum de tartryn rub' radiato, videlicet, casula, alba, amita, stola, phanul', zona, frontell', subfrontell', parvus frontellus, et ij. ridell' de dicto tartryn radiato, prec' xxxiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. osculatorium argenti deaurati pro pace ministranda, ponderans xv. s. de pondere troie. Item, j. phiala argenti magna, ponderans xvij. s. j. d. Item, j. calix argenti deaurati ponderans iiij. li. viij. s. ix. d. Item, j cuva pro aqua benedicta. cum aspersorio, et ij. candelabris de auricalco, prec' viij. s. Item, j. super, altare de marmore nigro, nichil, quia legatur domino J. Ravenser. Item j. pillue parv' de panno lineo legatur eidem et liberatur eidem, nichil. Item, j. coffr' parv' pro nebulis imponendis. Item, viij. tapet' palliata de rubeo et albo, prec' v. s. Item, j. campana enea parva legatur domino J. de Ravenser, nichil. Item, j. pecia de blod' card' pro coopertor' altaris. Item, j. casula cum alba, amita, stola, phanul' et parrur' (*sic*) de velwet motle, le chaumpe nigr', prec' xl. s. Item, j. casula cum j. capa, ij. tuniculis de camaca rub', cum stol', phanul', iij. albis et amit' cum parur', prec' cvj. s. viij. d. Item, ij. cape palliate de baudkyn blod' et glauco de serico cum casul', ij. tuniculis, cum parur' non consut', prec' lx. s. Item, j. superfrontale de velwet tannede,[7] cum crucifixo, Maria et Johanne consut' cum ij. augment' in fimb',[8] prec' xxx. s. Item, j. subfrontale cum j. parvo subfron

[3] Saronet, MS. pro sarsnet, or sarcinet? Compare—"j. pecia de sarcinet," *infra*.

[4] Sic MS.; *query* flameole, kerchiefs?

[5] Not trenchers, upon which the food was cut, but carving knives. The double signification of the term is distinctly marked in the Prompt. Parv. "Trenchowre, *scissorium*—Trenchowre, knyfe, *mensaculus*."

[6] A kind of screen. "Spere or scuw (*al.* screne), scrinenm, ventifuga." Prompt. Parv. "Speere in a halle, *buffet*." Palsgrave. See "Inventory of Furniture in a Merchant's House in London, 1481:" in the parlour—"a spear with two leves." Churchwardens' Accounts, p. 118. Compare Gage's Hengrave, p. 42, &c.

[7] *Query*, taunede: tanny, a reddish brown colour, from the French "*tané*, enfumé, de couleur rousse." Roquefort.

[8] Or, possibly, finib', finibus. Fimbriis seems preferable.

tello de panno et auro, et j. corprax. Item, ij. ridelles de sarcinet palliat', prec' xx. s. Item, ij. crucifixi cum Maria et Johanne brouderizat' in ij. peciis, prec' x. s. Item, j. virga, j. quarter' dim. et le nayl de panno de damask et auro, cum ix. minutis peciis de eodem panno. Item, j. pecia de nigro velwet. Item, j. pecia de sarcinet radiat' cum rub' et albo. Item, j. pannus rub' et aur' intiger, prec' lxxiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. remanens de blod' satyn continens j. virgam. Item, v. pecie sindonis viridis, prec' pecie ij. s. vj. d.—xij. s. vj. d. Item, viij. virge stricte de fustian, prec' virge vij. d. iiij. s. viij. d. Item, j. tabula consuta de auro de cipre, cum salutacione Angelic', prec' xx. s. Item, j. tabula lign' depicta cum diversis ymagini bus cum ij. foliis includentibus tercium, prec' x. s. Item, ij. paria precaminum de laumbre. Item, viij. zone pro vestimentis de filo lineo. Item, ij. sconses, quorum j. legatur J. de Ravenser, et j. datur J. Roderham.

Libri.

Item, sextus liber Decretal' cum glosa Johannis et glosa digni super titulo de regulis juris, et cum Clementinis, et glosa Johannis, in eodem volumine. Item, Summa summarum, j. degestum novum, j. inforciatum melius. Item, liber quintus Innocencii quarti super libro decretal.' Vendantur magistro Willelmo de Waltham pro viij. li. xiijs. iiijd. Item, Codex, liber juris civilis, prec' x. s. Item, j. degestum vetus, prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. par' decretal', que magister Willelmus de Waltham habet de prestito domini. Item, j. liber cum ij. glosis, quarum j. glosa arch'i super libro sexto, et alia glosa Willelmi super Clementinis, qui est in manibus magistri Roberti de Westone, de prestito per dominum. Item, j. liber vocatus Archidiaconus in Rosar' super decretal', in manibus magistri Johannis Kyngtone, de prestito per dominum. Item, liber vocatus Summa Reymundi cum libro brocardicorum, prec' v. s. Item, iij. quaterni de casibus, iij. p'marum colacionum. Item, j. biblia, prec' xl. s. Item, j. liber cum septem psalmis penitencialibus glosatis in gallic'. Item, pro j. parvo libro de narrac' devocionum.[9] Item, iij. quaterni de decima colacione.

Vessellamenta argent' alba.

Item, j. pelvis major, cum aquar', ponder' vij. lb. v. s. de pondere troie. Item, j. pelvis rotunda et cava, cum parvo aquar' ponder' (*blank*). Item, j. olla continens j. lagenam, ponder' v. lb. iij. s. j. d. ob. Item, iij. olle potellers, ponder' viij. lb. xij. s. vj. d. Item, ij. pelves, ponder' vij. lb. iij. s. vi. d. ob. vj. chargeours ponder' xj. lb. xiiij. s. vij. d. vj. pecie plane, ponder' v. lb. xv. s. v. d. xij. cocliaria, ponder' xix. s. iij. d. q^{a}'. j. salar' ponder' xv. s. vij. d. de pondere de troie. Vend' domino J. de Waltham pro liij. li. xij. s. q^{a}'. qualibet lb. troie stant' ad xxvj. s. viij. d. Item, ij. olle quart' ponder' iij. lb ix. s. ij. d. de pondere troie. Item, ij. olle munit'[1] arg', ponder' ij. lb. xj. s. viij. d. de eodem pondere Item, iij. pecie plane cum cooperculis, quarum j. cum pomell' plat, ponder' j. lb. xvj. s. viij. d. j. cum pomell' square, ponder' j. lb. xiij. s. ix. d. et j. cum pomell' rotundo, ponder' j. lb. x. s. vij. d. Summa, v. lb. xxij. d. ob. Item, ij. chargeours de touche London', ponder' v. lb. xx. d. Item, xij. disci potagers

[9] "In manibus haxay ad videnđ."—*Margin.* This note includes the previous item. Haxay is mentioned again in the inventory at the close of this document. [1] Or minut'?

majores, et xij. salsaria de touche de Parys,[2] ponder' xx. lb. iij. s. iiij. d. Item, xij. disci potagers minores de touche de Parys, ponder' xj. lb. xiiij. s. vij. d. Item, j. salar' cavum cum cooperculo, pond' (*blank*). Item, vj. cocliaria vetera cum glandibus, pond' (*blank*).

Vessellamenta deaurata.

Item, j. ciphus argent' cum cooperculo deaurat' cum j. cervo in fundo coopercul' insculpto cum trailes, pond' ij. lb. v. s. Item, j. ciphus argent' cum cooperculo deaurat' cum alto pede ad modum turris de verr', pond' ij. lb. ij. s. vj. d. Item, j. olla parva deaurata ponder' j. lb. xvj. s. viij. d. Item, j. sigillum, fine tantum deaurato, pond' iij. s. vj. d.

Jocalia.

Item, j. nouche aur' cum uno apro in medio. Item, j. firmaculum aur' cum j. febula (*sic*) de perles. Item, j. candelabrum aur', dimissum in custodia domini ad salvo et secure custodiendum.

Aula.

Item, j. dorsor' magnum cum ij. costers de tapistre, prec' l. s. Item, iij. bankquers. Item, iij. tabule mensales, quarum j. debilis. Item, ij. paria tristell'. Item, ij. pelves plane, cum ij. lavacr' de auricalco, prec' x. s.

Panetr' et buteller'.

Item, j. mappa de parys, cont' xv. virg' dim. usitata, prec' v. s. x. d. Item, j. mappa de parys, usitata, continens viij. virg. dim. in long', prec' virge iiij. d.—ij. s. Item, j. mappa de parys, usitata, continens vij. virg.' j. quart' prec'. iij. s. vj. d. Item, j. mappa de parys, continens vij. virg.' dim. prec. xx. d. Item, iij. mappe de denant, qualibet continens v. virg'. prec'. virge vj. d.—vij. s. vj. d. Item, j. mappa de denant v. virg'. iij. quart', prec' ij. s. x. d. ob. Item, j. towail de parys, continens xx. virg', prec' v. s. Item, j. towail de parys, continens viij. virg. dim. prec' ij. s. Item, ij. towails curt' de parys, in j. pecia, contin' viij. virg. prec' ij. s. Item, j. towaile de parys, cont' iiij. virg. prec. xij. d. Item, ij. towails de parys, utraque cont' ij. virg. in long'. prec' xij. d. Item, iij. sanapes, qualibet cont' vij. virg. dim. quarum j. debilis, quarum j. melior, prec' viij. d. j media, iiij. d. j. debelior, prec' iij. d. Summa, xv. d. Item, j. sanape, cont' vj. virg. iij. quart' prec' viij. d. Item, iij. canavas' pro tabulis valect', debiles. Item, j. cista longa. Item, j. dolium pro pane imponendo. Item, iij. tankards de cor'[3] potellers. Item, j. tankarde de cor' quarter. Item, v. candelabra de auricalco. Item, j. chippyngborde. Item, j. scabell'.

Celar'.

Item, ij. pipe vini rub' plene, prec' (*blank*).

Coquina.

Item, iiij. olle enee majores. Item, ij. olle enee, utraque cont' ij. lag'. Item, j. olla enea, cont' j. lag' dim. Item, ij. olle enee, cont' utraque j. lag' Item, j. patella magna de metello, (*sic*) debilis. Item, iij. patelle minores

[2] The assay-mark of Paris was a fleur-de-lys, as that of England, by the stat. 28 Edw. I., was a leopard's head. In the Wardrobe Book, 28 Edw. I., is the item—"8 coclear' argenti signata in collo signo Parisius, scil. de quodam flore glegelli." p. 352.

[3] Probably for *corio*, leathern pottle-pots, or black jacks. "De cornu" has also been suggested.

quarum ij. debiles. Item, j. patella parva, cont' ij. lag'. dim. Item, j. brandrethe[4] long' de ferro. Item, j. par de rakkes ferr', cont' iiij. pec'. Item, j. par de cobbardes, debil'. Item, j. craticula ferr'. Item, j. fryingpan ferr'. Item, ij. spites long' ferr' squarr'. Item, ij. spites ferr' rotund'. Item, ij. broches rotund' pro anguillis. Item, j. myour.[5] Item, j. flescroke. Item, j. sccuris. Item, j. par de pothokes. Item, j. morter' lapid' cum j. pestell' lign' long'. Item, iiij. cuve lign'. Item, j. tubbe minut' lign'. Item, j. cadus pro verjus. Item, j. cuva major et ij. cuve minores pro carn' sals' imponend'. Item, j. par obbarum pintis pro sinap' et verjus.

Lardar'.

Item, iij. carcos' ij. quart' bov' sals'. Item, xiiij. perne bacon'. Item, xvj. pisc' sals'.

Pistrina.

Item, v. tubbes. Item, ij. sacci. Item, j. pele ferrat'. Item, ij. cuve alte pro balneac'.

Inventarium bonorum Domini Ricardi de Ravenser nuper Archidiaconi Lincoln', inventorum in custodia domini Walteri de Wyndesore, tempore mortis ejusdem Archidiaconi.

In primis, una cuppa argenti deaurat' cum pede longo et cooperculo. Item, unum magnum Bolle argenti deaurat' cum cooperculo. Item, ij. ciphi argenti deaurat' ad modum calicis, cum cooperculo. Item, unus ciphus argenti deaurat' ad modum dolii, cum cooperculo. Item, due magne pelves argenti aymellat' cum ymaginibus mulieris et unius Wode Wose in medio. Item, due pelves minores, similiter aymellate cum similibus ymaginibus et uno castro. Item, una pelvis argenti cum uno scuto in medio. Item, una pelvis argenti cum foliis deauratis in medio. Item, due pelves cum ymagine beate Marie in medio. Item, duo lavacra argenti plana. Item, duo lavarr' (*sic*) arg' cum signis in cooperculis. Item, una navis pro elemos'. Item, due parve pelves argenti pro altari. Item, due olle argenti plane pro vino. Item, una olla argenti swarr' cum scuto in cooperculo. Item, unum parvum aquarium argenti cum tribus spoutes. Item, due pecie plane argenti cum cooperculo flatte, de una secta, que legantur H. de Selby, et uxori Willelmi Holme. Item, una parva pecia cum cooperculo, cum ymagine beate Marie. Item, vj. chargeours argenti de una secta. Item, iiij. chargeours argenti de alia secta. Item, unum salarium argenti cum cooperculo. Item, ij. saleria (*sic*) arg' cum pedibus. Item, unum Ouche de auro cum uno corvo[6] in medio. Item, unum Maser cum pede argenti deaurat'. Item, xxiiij. disci argenti de una secta, cum scutis et armis Regis Anglie. Item, xxiiij. disci argenti plani, de alia secta.

[4] "A brandryth, *tripos*." MS. Dictionary, entitled Catholicon Materna Lingua, 1483. In the Promptorium Parv., a trivet is called "Brandelede." Amongst the culinary appliances enumerated in Roy. MS. 17, c. xvii., *tripes* is rendered "branderthe" and "burnderthe." The word is still used in north country dialect. Brockett's Gloss. *v.* Brandreth.

[5] "A myoure, *micatorium*; To mye brede, *micare*." Catholicon Materna Lingua, MS. in Lord Monson's library, dated 1483. Grated bread was very much used in medieval cookery. See the Forme of Cury, Warner's Antiquitates Culinarie, &c.

[6] Doubtless a canting device, in allusion to the name of Ravenser. Compare the bequest of a bed, "cum tapetis, cum corvis," and the items, "cape cum orfrays albis poudrat' cum corvis: lectus de rubeo Worstede cum corvis, lectus cum tapeto cum corvo stante super rupem," &c.

Item, vj. disci argenti de alia secta. Item, vj. disci argenti cum scutis in medio. Item, xij. disci argenti de una secta quasi novi. Item, vj. disci argenti cum stellis in medio. Item, x. disci argenti de una secta. Item, xj. disci argenti de alia secta. Item, xj. salsaria argenti cum scutis de armis Regis. Item, x. salsaria argenti cum armis de leonibus. Item, vj. salsaria, unde v. cum stellis in medio. Item, ix. salsaria argenti de unica secta. Item, xij. ciphi argenti de unica secta, unde unus est aymellatus in medio. Item, iij. pecie argenti plane, ad modum Bolle, legantur domino Johanni de Ravenser. Item, iiij. pecie argenti cum uno cooperculo cum pedibus mobilibus, unde tres pecie et cooperculum liberantur domino H. Officiali, J. de Popiltoue et Waltero de Gretham, ex legato. Item, due parve pecie antique argenti plane. Item, xxx. cocliaria argenti et duo cocliaria deaurata. Item, una tabula cupri deaurat' pro pace dauda.

Item, inventarium bonorum ejusdem Domini Archidiaconi apud Strettone inventorum eodem tempore.

Item, in primis due pelves argenti cum foliis deauratis in medio, et duo lavacra argenti plana pro eisdem pelvibus, legantur domino Johanni de Waltham et Johanni de Ravenser. Item, ij. pecie plane argenti de unica secta cum cooperculis. (Alie due ejusdem secte liberantur superius eisdem. *Erased.*) Item, una pecia argenti cum cooperculo cum scriptura, ecce agnus dei, &c. assignatur fratri Jacobo Hospital' Trinitatis Beverlac'. Item, una alia pecia argenti plana bene ponderans cum cooperculo, cujus pomellum (capud *erased*) est deauratum. Item, unum salarium argenti coopertum. Item, iij. pecie argenti, de tour (*sic*) de Parys, legantur domino J. de Ravenser. Item, vj. cocliaria argenti in usu. Item, xij. disci argenti de una secta. Item, vj. disci argenti de uua secta cum stellis. Item, vj. disci argenti de alia secta. Item, xj. salsaria argenti. Item, (*blank.*)

Item, unum sigillum argenti de Archidiaconatu Lincoln' cum cathena. Item, una zona rotunda de serico rubeo. Item, una tabuletta aurea aymellata.[7] Item, unus anulus aureus cum quodam saphiro cum quodam cristallo pendente. Item, una pixis argenti aymellata tribus scutis. Item, ij. anuli aurei cum perles scoticis. Item, vj. anuli argenti aymellati cum lapidibus de forma diamantis. Item, xxxiiij. anuli aurei parvi cum diversis lapidibus. Item, xxxvij. castones.[8] Item, unum firmaculum aureum de forma trifolii cum uno diamande. Item, unum firmaculum deauratum aymellatum cum literis—Ih'c. Item, iij. burse, de operibus diversis, et j. alia de velwet. Item, iiij. anuli parvi aurei aymellati cum literis.

Capella.

Item, unum vestimentum album portatile cum calice et toto apparatu, legatur domino J. de Hermesthorpe. Item, aliud vestimentum album, cum ryban de damask', et unum portiforium notatum, legantur domino J. de Waltham. Item, unum missale portatile, legatur domino Thome

[7] This item erased, with a note. "Vacat hic, q' d'ne de molynn" (?).

[8] Casto, chasto, in Fr. *chaton*, the setting or collet of a jewel, the roundels or ornaments containing a relic, enamel, &c., such as were affixed to goldsmiths' work, or vestments.

Ectone. Item, unum portiforium notatum, unum salterium cum oracionibus, et rubius (?) liber de cauone misse, in una quaterna. Item, unum superaltare nigrum, et aliud viride, et ij. alba. Item, ij. candelabra argenti. Item, due urcioli argenti et deaurati. Item, unum thuribulum argenti. Item, una cuva cum spersasor'[9] (*sic*) argenti. Item, unum caas' corporas' broudatum de ymag'. Item, unum sufronter album de Sarezynes. Item, iij. amys de Gray. Item, superpelicium de pauno de Reyues. Item, unum amys de panno lineo. Item, uuum rochetum. Item, j. canopium de serico. Item, unum cauopium de filo albo. Item, unum pulvinar album cum cruce rubea pro capella. Item, una capa nigra antiqua debilis valde. Item, unum portiforium de usu Lincolu', siue nota. Item, unum vestimentum broudatum cum apris, cervis et rosis, continens tres albas, tres amitas, duas stolas, iij. manipulos, tria singula, unam casulam, et duas tunicas. Item, due cape de panuo ad aurum cum orfrays albis poudrat' cum corvis. Item, una zona de serico herneysiata, (legatur W. Mountayn, *added.*) Item, una pixis et campana argenti, et unum candelabrum argenti. Item, ij. ursioli argenti. Item, unum portiforium non notatum, datur domiuo J. de Popiltone, Senescallo hospicii domiui, in recompensacione uuius portiforii sui' dum idem Johannes in arduis negociis domini, causa presencie Comitis Notyngham, occupatus fuerat, furati. Item, ij. candelabra de auricalco.

Camera.

Item, unus lectus de serico maskelede, cum curteyns et v. costers et tapetis, legatur J. de Waltham. Item, duo coopertoria de eyrmyn. Item, unus lectus de rubeo Worstede cum corvis, et curtyus, legatur H. de Selby. Item, unus lectus de viridi Worstede broudatus de garbis et aquilis cum quatuor costeris, tribus curtynis, duabus tapetis et vj. Quyssyues, legatur domiuo J. de Ravenser, prec' (*blank*). Item, unus lectus viridis, broudatus de rosis albis cum tribus ridellis, quatuor costeris, prec' (*blank*). Item, unus lectus continens superlectule et tapetum de papejays et papilionibus glaucis. Item, unus lectus viridis debilis. Item, uuus lectus cum literis C. et R'. Item, unum superlectule cum (lupis *erased*) leonibus glaucis. Item, uuum superlectule album modici valoris. Item, vj. costers de albo et rubeo palede. Item, unum tapetum viride. Item, unus lectus viridis cum superlectul' et tapeto cum corvo stante super rupem. Item, unus lectus cum superlectul' et tapeto. Item, unus lectus glaucus cum chapellettis et rosis albis. (Item, x. blaukettes, et tria paria de Stamyns. Item, j matras', de siudone viridi. Item, duo matras' de blueto et unum aliud de viridi. Item, unum matras' album spissum, et aliud album debile. Item, unum matras' album, et aliud modici valoris. Item, duo Quyltes albe, et tria Federbeddes. Item, xij. linthiamiua quorum quedam valde debiles. Item, iiij. Quyssyns de syndone. Item, iiij. Quyssyns distinct', cum uno remanente de eodem panno. Item, uua aula de tapisserie rub' contiucns v. pecias cum corvis in broudura et tres Bancours de eadem secta, et vj. quyssyns. Item, una aula de bleueto, et rub' palleat' cum draconibus et Wode Woses,[1] cont' v. pecias. Item, una aula

[9] Sic in MS. Spersorium, Duc. the holy water sprinkle, *aspersoir.*

[1] A wild man of the woods, called by corruption Woodhouse.

palleata de viridi et blueto Worstede, et broudata cum garbis et corvis, continens v. pecias. Item, una aula distincta cum miraculis sancti Johannis Beverlacensis, continens tres pecias. Item, una alia aula palleata de corvis et unda, (?) cum tribus peciis).[2] Item, j. coverlit et j. tester, cum capitibus leopardorum inclusis inter griffons, prec'. xx. s. Item, j. coverlit et j. tester, cum capitibus leopardorum de glauco et rosis albis ac avibus et griffons intertextis, prec' xviij. s. Item, j coverlit combust' prec' xiiij. d. Item, j. chalon, ... prec' xij. d. Item, j. covertour de blod' carde liniat' cum serico et furr' cum ermyn, prec' xl. s. Item, j. covertour de blod' panno, furr' cum albis cuniculis, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. par de blankettes cum nigris listis, prec' iiij. s. vj. d. Item, j. par de blankettes cum rub' listis, prec' iiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. par de blankettes cum listis de russeto, prec' ij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. par ed blankettes quorum j. cum blodiis listis, et alter sine listis, prec' xx. d. Item, j. par de stamyns, cum long' secur' pro signo, prec' iij. s. Item, j. par de stamyns med', prec' ij. s. vj. d. Item, j. par de stamyns minus, prec' ij. s. ij. d. Item, ij. pirpoyntes, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. matras de viridi sindone liniat' cum bocram, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. matras de blod' carda, ex utraque parte, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. matras cujus j. pars de blod' carde, et alia pars de viridi carde, prec' ij. s. vj. d. Item, j. matras de viridi carde, liniat' cum panno lineo, prec' ij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. matras alb' nov', prec' x. s. Item, j. matras alb' usitat', prec. v. s. Item, j. matras alb', cum j. foramine in latere, prec'. ij. s. vj. d. Item, j. matras cum rosis in quolibet angulo, prec' xviij. d. Item, j. matras alb' cum rosis insutis ex utraque parte, prec' iij. iiij. d. Item, j. matras cum rosis in fimbriis, prec' xv. d. Item, j. quylt, prec' v. s. Item, j. matras, non implet', prec' xvj. d. Item, ij. paria linthiaminum melior' cum R.'[3] contin'. iij. virgas in long', prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. par linthiaminum cum R. in medio, prec' iiijs. Item, j, par linthiaminum dilacerat' in medio, prec' xviij. d. Item, ij. paria linthiaminum debiles, prec' xvj. d. Item, j. par linthiaminum cum nodis in fimbriis, prec' xviij. d. Item, j. linthiamen valde debile, prec' iij. d. Item, j. pylowe coopert' cum syndone, prec' viij. d. Item, j. lectus plumalis cum j. bolster melior, prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, ij. lecti plumales unius quantitatis, prec' x. s. Item, j lectus plumalis debilis, prec' xviij. d. Item, ij. ridell' de viridi Worstede, prec' v. s. Item, iij. ridell' de rubeo Worstede, prec' iiij. s. Item, j. travers de sindone rub,' prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. ridell' de carde viridi, prec' ij. s. Item, j. tapet nigrum cum j. banquer nigro, prec' xviij. d. Item, j. canavas continens vj. virgas, prec' xviij. d. Item, j. canavas' continens vij. virgas, dim'. prec' ij. s. viij. d. Item, j. canavas' continens iij. virgas strict', prec' iiij. d. Item, j. canavas continens iij. virgas strict' mel', prec' viij. d. Item, ij. canavas', utraque continens ij. virgas, prec' x. d. Item, j. canavas' cum magno foramine, prec' iiij. d. Item, j. canavas' cont' ij. virgas prec' iiij. d. Item, j. (canavas' *erased*) Sarpler de canavas', prec' ix. d.

Garderoba.

Item, furr' de menever cont' xij. timbre in cloca de rub' mixto, de lib' domini Episcopi Lincoln', prec' xl. s. Item, furr' in capicio de eadem secta

[2] These items are erased in the MS., commencing "Item, x. blankettes."
[3] Obviously the initial of the name Ravenser.

de menever, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, furr' in supertunica ejusdem robe de bys, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, pannus ejusdem robe cum kirtelle de eadem secta, prec' xiij. s. iij. d. Item, furr' de menever in j. cloca de marbryn, de lib' domini Episcopi, prec' xx. s. Item, furr' de menever in capicio, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, furr' de popill' in supertunica ejusdem, prec' v. s. Item, pannus dicte robe cum j. capucio et j. kirtelle, prec' xj. s. Item, furr' in cloca de viridi mixto, prec' xxxiij. s. iiij. d. Item, furr' de menever in capucio ejusdem, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, furr' de popill' in supertunica ejusdem, v. s. Item, pannus dicte robe cum kirtelle, prec' ix. s. Item, furr' de menever in blod' cloca, prec' xxxiij. s. iiij. d. Item, furr' de gray in capucio ejusdem, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, pannus dicte cloce et capuc' cum kirtelle de eodem panno, prec' xj. s. Item, furr' in toga de blod' perce, prec' xviij. s. Item, pannus dicte toge cum capucio dupl,' prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, furr' de gray in cloca nigra, prec' xx. s. Item, furr' de gray in major' nigr' capuc', prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, furr' in toga de nigro, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, furr' in facie in capucio nigro de menever, prec' xviij. d. Item, furr' de' gray in facie alterius nigri capucii, prec' xij. d. Item, pannus predicte cloce, toge, et iij. capuciorum, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. pilche de Bever, prec' xiij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. pilium furr' cum Bever, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, iij. amys de gray, prec' cujuslibet xxx. s. iiij. li. x. s. Item, j. cloca cum supertunica et capucio tannez liniat' cum plunket' taffit', cum kirtelle de eadem secta, prec. xiij. s. iij. d. Item, j. cloca cum capucio et supertunica liniat' cum blod' taffit' cum kirtelle, prec' xx. s. Item, j. cloca cum capucio nigr' liniat' cum nigr' tafit', prec' x. s. Item, supertunica cum tabarde et capucio liniat' cum viridi tafit' cum kirtelle, prec' xx. s. (tamen (?) legatur W. Baker, et liberatur eidem, *added.*) Item, j. toga nigra liniata cum bucram, absque capucio, prec' viij. s. Item, j. toga curta de viridi mixto liniat' cum tafit' de Inda, prec' v. s. Item, j. toga de russet' liniata cum viridi say cum capucio de eodem, liniat' cum viridi tafit' j. capucio singl' et j. kirtelle, prec' viij. s. Item, j. toga curta de Worstede nigro liniata cum blanket,' prec' vj. viij. d. Item, j. kirtelle de eodem melior, prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. kirtelle de Worstede debilior, prec' ij. s. vj. d. Item, j. cloca de nigro panno lan' curt', prec' iiij. s. Item, j. cloca de russet' liniat' cum viridi mixto, pro equitac', prec' v. s. Item, iiij. capucia nigra et dupl,' prec' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. capucium de sanguyn liniat,' prec' xviij. d. Item, j. capucium de murrey liniat', prec' xviij. d. Item, iij. capucia dupl' de diversis sectis, prec' iij. s. Item, j. capucium de scarlet, sengle, prec' xviij. d. Item, ij. capucia singl', prec' xvj. d. Item, j, kirtelle de blanket' furr' cum nigr' agnell,' prec' (*blank*). Item, ij. wardecorps de blanket,' prec' ij. s. (tamen dantur ij. carectario de Meltone intuitu caritatis, *marginal note:*) Item, j. wardecorps de blanket,' prec' viij. d. Item, j. capa nigra ad ministrandum in choro melior, prec' xx. s. Item, j. capa debilior nigra pro choro, prec' vj. s. viij. d. Item, j. remanens de marblyn, continens v. quart', prec' xx. d.

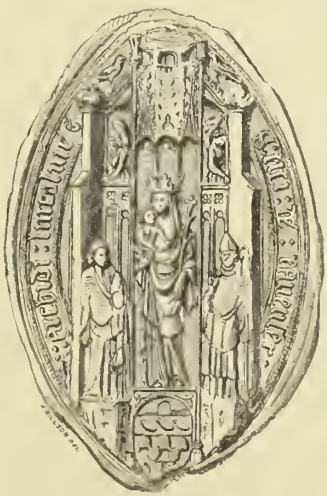
[The next twelve pages are occupied by accounts of later date,—"Muskham.—Computus ibidem post festum Michaelis, Anno R. R. Henrici sexti tercio" (1424) "exitus grang'"—miscellaneous expenditure, wages, farm produce, &c., to 7 Hen. VI. North and South Muskham, Notts, apper-

tained to the church of Southwell. Then follows a long list of bonds under various heads, and monies due, written at various times, occupying two pages and a half, entitled "Debita que debentur domino Johanni de Tenelby canonico ecclesie Lincoln', ad festum Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste, Anno D. 1432." He was, perhaps, interested in the Prebend of Muskham; amongst the debts occur—"De Johanne Clerk de Newerk firmario de Muskham, pro firma prebende ejusdem debit' primo die Maii, A°. dicti Regis x^mo, xviij. li." "De vicario de Muskham, ex prestito, &c, vj. s. viij." (10 Hen. VI. 1432). To these succeeds one blank leaf, and on the last three leaves are written inventories of plate, which comprise many curious items, but do not appear to relate to the estate of Archdeacon de Ravenser.

The transcript forms a thin folio volume, bound in a limp parchment cover. It is written on paper of stout quality, presenting three distinct water-marks; a dragon, an eagle with a nimbus, standing on an object of lozenge shape (possibly intended to represent a book, St. John's Gospel), and a pole-axe, with a long triangular blade.

The silver seal of the archdeaconry, with a chain, occurs amongst the effects found at Stretton. (See p. 322.) Through the kindness of Mr. Wilson I am enabled here to give a representation of the official seal of Richard de Ravenser, from an impression. The design is very elegant; the legend, S.' ricí. de. rauenser, archidí.' lincolnie. Beneath is an escutcheon of his arms. The three birds which appear upon the chief, as also two introduced at the top of the seal, are probably ravens, a canting allusion to his name.

In printing the foregoing documents, the greater part of the contracted words are given *in extenso;* in every case where any question might occur as to the power of the contraction, it has been retained. In the MS., each item, it must be observed, forms a separate line or paragraph; but they have been brought together and printed continuously, to save space.

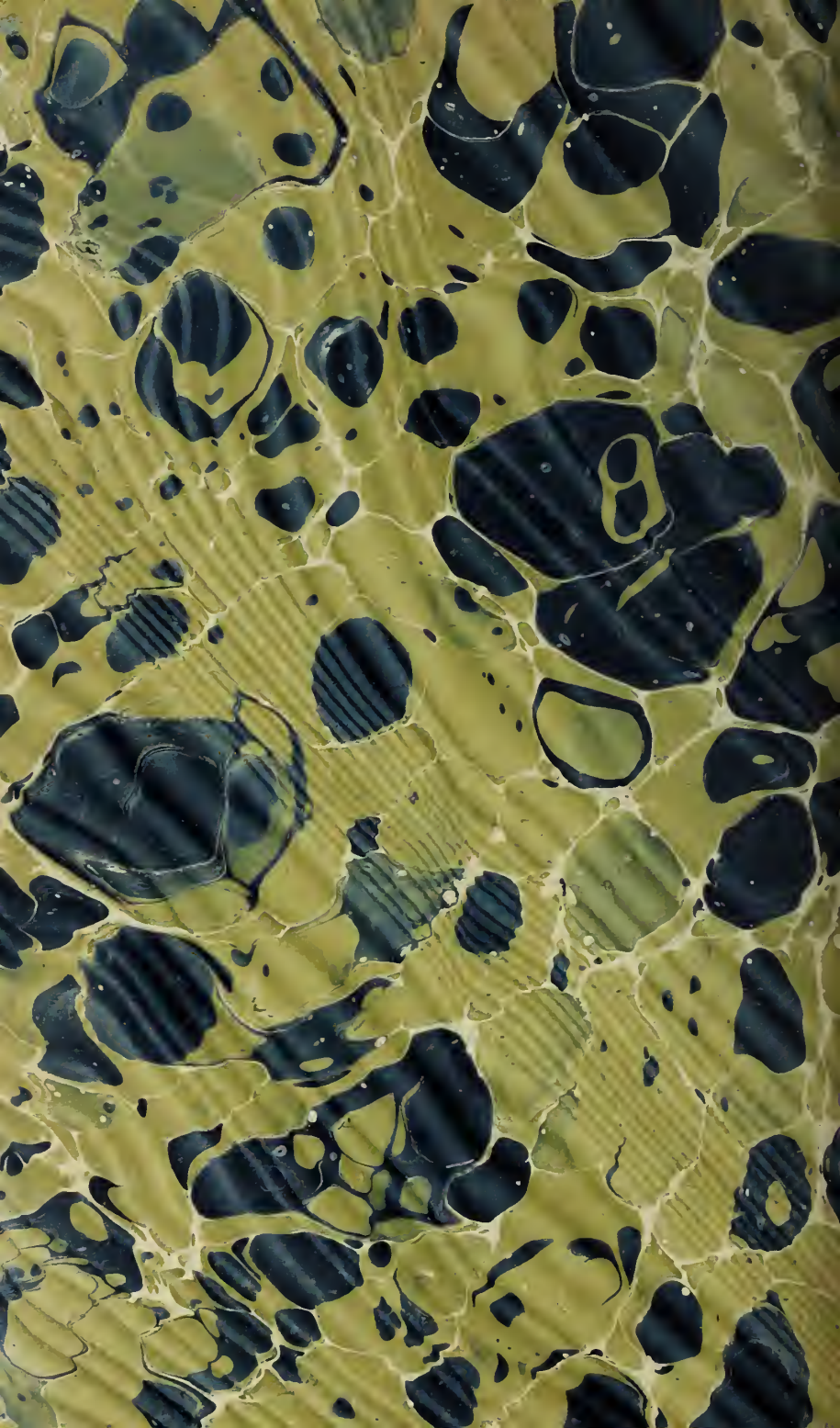


ADDITIONAL NOTE TO THE MEMOIR ON THE PAINTED GLASS IN LINCOLN MINSTER.

SINCE the foregoing paper on the painted glass in Lincoln Cathedral was printed, my friend, Mr. Willson, of Lincoln, has kindly subjected the figure which occupies the central compartment of the north rose-window to a careful examination. He has ascertained that the figure is clearly intended to represent our Saviour ; but, unfortunately, no means exist of ascertaining whether or not the stigmata were exhibited. The figure is seated, the right hand is elevated, but is shown so much in profile as quite to conceal the palm. The left hand and both feet, and, indeed, the lower half of the body, are totally destroyed.

C. WINSTON.

LONDON: BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.



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